

**BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

In the Matter of

MUR 3774

**PAUL CURCIO'S  
RESPONSES TO THE FEDERAL ELECTION  
COMMISSION'S SUBPOENA**

APR 11 2 59 PM '97

Paul Curcio hereby submits the following objections and responses to the Federal Election Commission's ("FEC") Subpoena to Produce Documents and Order to Submit Written Answers ("the FEC Subpoena") as follows:

**GENERAL OBJECTIONS**

The following general objections apply to each request for the production of documents and for written answers (the "Questions") accompanying the FEC Subpoena:

1. I object to the Questions to the extent that they call for the disclosure of information and/or production of documents that are protected from discovery by the attorney-client privilege or work-product immunity or are otherwise privileged. To the extent that any privileged document is or may be produced in response to the Questions, the production of any such document is inadvertent and is not to be deemed a waiver of any privilege with respect to the produced document or any other document.
2. I object to the Questions to the extent they purport to impose obligations to supplement the disclosure of information and/or the production of documents beyond those imposed by the United States Code and the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

3. I undertake to disclose information and produce documents in response to the Questions only in the form, and to the extent, required by 2 U.S.C. § 437d and any other applicable provisions of the United States Code or the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. I object to each instruction, definition, question and request contained in the Questions to the extent that each instruction, definition, question and request attempts to impose obligations concerning the form or context of document production beyond those required by such provisions or exceeds the scope of investigation permitted by, or conflicts with 2 U.S.C. § 437d and any other applicable provisions of the United States Code or the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

4. I object to the Questions to the extent that they call for the disclosure of information or the production of documents containing proprietary information.

5. I reserve the right to modify the objections made herein or to assert additional objections to production as appropriate.

6. I reserve the right to modify, amend or supplement the answers to the Questions contained herein as further information becomes available or as otherwise appropriate.

**SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS, RESPONSES AND ANSWERS TO INTERROGATORIES**

Subject to the General Objections, and without waiving same, I hereby respond to the individual Questions as follows:

**Question No. 1**

**Identify by name and position all contact persons at the following Senate campaigns with whom you communicated in 1992:**

**Response and Answer to Question No. 1:**

**(a) Paul Coverdell's Senate campaign, including the November 3 general election campaign and the November 24 runoff.**

Paul Coverdell - Candidate; Tom Perdue - Campaign Manager; Rick Shelby - General Consultant; Ralph Chandler - Advertising Consultant; and Whitfield Ayres - Pollster.

**(b) Bob Kasten's Senate campaign.**

Bob Kasten - Candidate; Paul Wellday - Campaign Manager; and Dennis Howe - Consultant.

**(c) Mike DeWine's Senate campaign.**

I do not recall communicating with anyone employed at the 1992 DeWine Campaign.

**(d) Bob Packwood's Senate campaign.**

Bob Packwood - Candidate; Elaine Franklin - Campaign Director; Don Sipple - Consultant; and Bob Moore - Pollster.

**(e) Lauch Faircloth's Senate campaign in 1992.**

I do not recall communicating with anyone employed at the 1992 Faircloth Campaign.

**(f) Thomas Hartnett's Senate campaign in 1992.**

Thomas Hartnett - Candidate.

**(g) Dirk Kempthorne's Senate campaign in 1992.**

Phil Rehberger - Campaign Manager; Tony Payton - General Consultant; and John Grotta  
- Direct Mail and Phone Vendor.

**Question No. 2**

**Identify by name and position all contact persons at the following Senate campaigns with whom you communicated in 1993:**

**Response and Answer to Question No. 2:**

**a. Kay Bailey Hutchison's Senate campaign.**

I do not recall communicating with anyone employed at the 1993 Hutchison Campaign.

**Question No. 3**

**Identify by name and position all contact persons at the following Senate campaigns with whom you communicated in 1994:**

**Response and Answer to Question No. 3:**

**a. Rod Grams' Senate campaign.**

Chris Erikstrup - Campaign Manager.

**b. Rick Santorum's Senate Campaign.**

Rick Santorum - Candidate; Mark Rodgers - Political Advisor; Pat Meehan - Campaign Manager; Mike Mihalke - Press Secretary; John Brabender - Media Consultant; Neil Newhouse - Pollster.

**SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS AND RESPONSES TO REQUESTS**  
**FOR PRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS**

Subject to the General Objections stated above, and without waiving same, I hereby state as follows:

**Request No. 1**

**Produce all appointment books, desk calendars, diaries or other such documents used by you from January 1, 1992 through December 31, 1994 in connection with your employment with the National Republican Senatorial Committee.**

**Objection and Response to Request No. 1:**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**Request No. 2**

**Produce all documents that in any way contain or refer to any communication in 1992 between you and each of the persons and organizations listed below concerning federal elections. Documents produced should include, but not be limited to, any notes, correspondence, faxes, telephone messages or logs, electronic mail messages, or memoranda:**

**Objection and Response to Request No. 2:**

**a. Eugene McDaniel, Mike McDaniel, John Isaf and any other officer, employee or consultant of the American Defense Institute and the American Defense Foundation.**

I agree to produce documents within my possession, custody or control which may be responsive to this request.

**b. John Grotta**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**c. Lee MacGregor**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**d. David O'Steen, Carol Long, Darla St. Martin and any other officer, employee or consultant of the National Right to Life Committee and/or the National Right to Life Committee Political Action Committee.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**e. Eric Licht or any other officer or employee of Coalitions For America.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**Request No. 3**

**Produce all documents that in any way contain or refer to any communication in 1992 between you and each of the persons and organizations listed below concerning get-out-the-vote activities, voter guides or candidate questionnaires. Documents produced should include, but not be limited to, any notes, correspondence, faxes, telephone messages or logs, electronic mail messages, or memoranda.**

**Objection and Response to Request No. 3:**

**a. Paul Coverdell or any officer, employee or consultant of his Senate campaign, including the campaigns for November 3, 1992 general election and the November 24 runoff election.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**b. Bob Kasten or any officer, employee or consultant of his Senate campaign.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**c. Mike DeWine or any officer, employee or consultant of his Senate campaign.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**d. Bob Packwood or any officer, employee or consultant of his Senate campaign.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**e. Lauch Faircloth or any officer, employee or consultant of his Senate campaign.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**f. Thomas Hartnett or any officer, employee or consultant of his Senate campaign.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**g. Dirk Kempthorne or any officer, employee or consultant of his Senate campaign.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**Request No. 4**

**Produce all documents that in any way contain or refer to any communication in 1993 between you and each of the persons and organizations listed below concerning federal elections. Documents produced should include, but not be limited to, any notes, correspondence, faxes, telephone messages or logs, electronic mail messages, or memoranda:**

**Objection and Response to Request No. 4:**

**a. Eugene McDaniel, Mike McDaniel, John Isaf and any other officer, employee or consultant of the American Defense Institute and the American Defense Foundation.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**b. Curt Anderson**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**c. Wes Anderson**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**Request No. 5**

***Produce all documents that in any way contain or refer to any communication in 1993 between you and each of the persons and organizations listed below concerning get-out-the-vote activities, voter guides or candidate questionnaires. Documents produced should include, but not be limited to, any notes, correspondence, faxes, telephone messages or logs, electronic mail messages, or memoranda.***

**Objection and Response to Request No. 5:**

**a. Kay Bailey Hutchison or any officer, employee or consultant of her Senate campaign, including the campaigns for the May 1, 1993 special election and the June 5, 1993 special election run-off.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**Request No. 6**

**Produce all documents that in any way contain or refer to any communication in 1994 between you and each of the persons and organizations listed below concerning federal elections. Documents produced should include, but not be limited to, any notes, correspondence, faxes, telephone messages or logs, electronic mail messages, or memoranda:**

**Objection and Response to Request No. 6:**

**a. Curt Anderson**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**b. David O'Steen, Carol Long, Darla St. Martin and any other officer, employee or consultant of the National Right to Life Committee and/or the National Right to Life Political Action Committee.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**c. Jacqueline Schwietz, Marice Rosenberg or any other officer, employee or consultant of the Minnesota Citizen's Concerned for Life, Inc. or its separate segregated fund, Minnesota Citizen's Concerned for Life Committee for a Pro Life Committee.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**Request No. 7**

**Produce all documents that in any way contain or refer to any communication in 1994 between you and each of the persons and organizations listed below concerning get-out-the-vote activities, voter guides or candidate questionnaires. Documents produced should include, but not be limited to, any notes, correspondence, faxes, telephone messages or logs, electronic mail messages, or memoranda.**

**Objection and Response to Request No. 7:**

**a. Rod Grams and any officer, employee or consultant of his Senate campaign.**

I have no responsive documents within my possession, custody or control.

**b. Rick Santorum and any officer, employee or consultant of his Senate campaign.**

I agree to produce documents within my possession, custody control which may be responsive to this request.

Respectfully submitted,

  
Paul Curcio

Dated: April 4, 1997

VERIFICATION OF WRITTEN ANSWERS

I, Paul Curcio, hereby declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing Responses to the Federal Election Commission's Subpoena are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

April 4, 1997

By: Paul Curcio  
Paul Curcio

Subscribed and sworn before me this 4th day of April, 1997

Barbara A. Malnane  
Notary Public

My Commission Expires on April 24, 1999

2004.04.30 17:19

## MEMORANDUM

**To:** Senator Gramm  
**From:** Paul Curcio  
**Subject:** Meeting with Red McDaniel

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This provides briefing materials for your meeting with Red McDaniel on Friday, September 25. McDaniel wants to discuss the Military Vote Program of the American Defense Foundation (ADF). This program is unique in that it provides a way for us to use our surplus of corporate dollars to have a direct impact on Senate races.

Military personnel and their families make up nearly 4.5 million Americans and are a key voting block to the Republican Party. The motivation for maximizing the military vote for Republican candidates is greater this year than in any election in recent memory: the defense budget is being targeted by the Democrats for huge cuts (which have national security as well as jobs implications), and the Democrats opposed the Gulf war in virtual lockstep. Both of these facts can be used to turn out the military vote for Republican Senate candidates. Properly executed, this program will make them understand that their very careers and the future of their families are at stake.

ADF implemented its Military Voter Registration Program in 1984. Since that time military participation has increased from 49.7% in 1980 to 63.5% in 1988. An increase of 13.8%. The Military Voter Program was instrumental in electing Senator Mack in 1988. 18,000 absentee ballots were received from Escambia County (Pensacola) alone and 80% of the ballots were for Senator Mack. The success of the 1988 program indicates great potential in 1992.

### PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

ADF's multi-phased campaign is designed to reach the military voter on many levels in order to maximize the military vote. The implementation of the program will help ensure a successful GOTV contact to the military community.

ADF's program has been designed to target states where military personnel are concentrated. Key states in which the NRSC has targeted U.S. Senate races, and in which this program could make the difference include:

Georgia	Idaho
Indiana	North Carolina
South Carolina	Wisconsin

Key states in which the RNC has targeted that have U.S. Senate races include:

Colorado	Connecticut
Florida	Illinois
Pennsylvania	Washington

Virtually every campaign that we are involved with has asked one of us what the NRSC is planning to do in order to motivate and turnout the military vote.

### PROGRAM COMPONENTS

ADF's program has several crucial and interdependent components. They are as follows:

- Motivational
- Command
- Promotional
- Governmental
- Corporate
- Individual
- Organizational
- Direct Voter Contact

### PROGRAM COSTS

Direct Voter Contact:

GA	110,959	\$.43	\$47,712.37
ID	24,633	\$.43	\$10,592.19
IN	76,974	\$.43	\$33,908.82
NC	104,426	\$.43	\$44,903.18
SC	67,442	\$.43	\$29,000.06
WI	59,320	\$.43	\$25,507.60
Total	443,754	\$.43	\$191,624.22

/ + Promotion: \$40,000.00

TOTAL \$231,624.22

Please note that the above costs include sending absentee ballots to service personnel overseas. At this late hour, the overseas portion of the effort is probably not possible. But the domestic portion can still be implemented. As a result, the costs would probably be lower than the \$231,624 that McDaniel quoted.

I have identified at least several hundred thousand dollars of savings within the corporate budget (state party transfer money). Thus, we could easily fund this effort from within our current authorized corporate budget. If this program can be implemented in the time remaining, we should look seriously at doing it.



# THE PENNSYLVANIA SENATE RACE 1994

Prepared by the:  
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE  
RONALD REAGAN REPUBLICAN CENTER  
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SENATOR PHIL GRAMM  
CHAIRMAN



# **JAMES CARVILLE AND PAUL BEGALA: STRATEGIES AND TACTICS**

Prepared by the:  
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE  
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SENATOR PHIL GRAMM  
CHAIRMAN

## CARVILLE AND BEGALA EXCEL AT RUNNING VERY DISCIPLINED, THEMATIC CAMPAIGNS.

- It will be very clear, very early, what the themes of a Carville/Begala campaign are.
- They will define both a positive and a negative theme and will stick to it throughout the campaign. It takes extraordinary events to knock them off their theme(s).

**Carville:** "I think campaigns should be about big universal themes...I think it is more theater than warfare." [Boston Globe 8/30/92]

**Democrat Political Consultant:** "Carville's stock in trade is his enormous political discipline,...he develops a negative message and drives it home." [The Northern Jersey Record 2/14/93]

- The campaign advertising and its earned media single-mindedly stick to those themes.
- Their campaign may run many many ads, but they are simply different ways of saying the same thing.

**Carville:** "We're looking to say the same thing over and over again." [Baton Rouge Advocate 12/1/92]

**Begala:** "Clinton stayed on the same message. He did not give the same stump speech everyday, but he gave the same message." [Worcester Telegram and Gazette 11/5/92]

- Even more important is that not only does Carville run thematically disciplined campaigns, but he also excels at taking a potentially complicated message and making it understandable to the average person.
- Carville is a master of agenda control: he is not reluctant to respond to an attack that he perceives is harmful to his candidate, but he will very quickly return the campaign's dialogue back to his core theme(s).
- Examples:

Casey	"Dining Room"
Casey	"Record"
Casey	"Compare"

**MUCH OF THE CARVILLE/BEGALA STRATEGY CAN BE  
EXPLAINED BY A DEEP RESENTMENT OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL  
AND (ESPECIALLY) ECONOMIC ELITES.**

- Their campaigns are often based on class warfare: they seek to drive a wedge between the wealthy and the rest of America.
- They then associate their Republican opponent with only the wealthy and attaches their own candidate to the middle class.
- Some relevant quotes:

**Houston Chronicle:** "In each of their campaigns, a pattern emerges. The candidates deliver a message of populism, such as 'I'm on the side of the working man and woman.'" [Houston Chronicle 10/17/92]

**Question:** "What are the most common, crucial mistakes made by the Democratic candidates seeking federal office?"

**Carville:** "They allow themselves to be defined more from the cultural issues -- which tend to work against our party -- than economic issues, which tend to work for us. They tend to listen to the elites in the party who want then to run campaigns in a way that satisfies (the elite's) own interests and egos, as opposed to listening to and addressing the voters' interests and concerns." [Campaign Magazine 1/92]

**Carville:** "There's going to be real anger against the Republican if the Democrats are smart and lay out what happened to the rich and what happened to the middle class during the last 11 years," he said. "The Democrats have to talk about reversing things, and they have to be very specific." [Wall Street Journal 11/7/91]

**Bill Clinton:** "Before I ask working Americans to work harder and pay more, I will ask the economic elite, who made more money and paid less in taxes, to pay their fair share." [CNN 2/6/93]

The Carville imprint was unmistakable on February 3, when Clinton gave a pep talk to the Office of Management and Budget employees. The president battered "the wealthiest Americans" for prospering more than their fellow citizens during the '80s, pledging that the "economic elite" will pay higher taxes "before I ask working Americans to work harder and pay more." This was a warm-up for three days later in his Saturday address to the nation when he again pounded on "a privileged elite" and again promised that "the wealthy" would pay through the nose. [Washington Post 2/16/93]

# The New York Times

## In New Jersey Campaign, Cries of 'Class Warfare'

By Jerry Gray

August 14, 1993 p. A1

TRENTON, Aug. 13 - An encounter on a country road between the Republican candidate for governor of New Jersey, Christine Todd Whitman, and a camera crew for the Democrat, Gov. Jim Florio, has blown into a major confrontation in the race.

Since the start of the campaign, Governor Florio has sought to portray Mrs. Whitman as wealthy and out of touch with the common people. But it was not until Mrs. Whitman and an aide jumped in a car Wednesday to chase the Florio camera crew, which had been videotaping her 208-acre farm in Bedminster and Tewksbury, that her wealth, and the issue, came to life.

Within a day, the issue that Mrs. Whitman had tried to prevent from becoming a focus of the race overwhelmed everything else, as Mr. Florio began to attack her for using that farm, and a smaller one in Far Hills, as tax shelters that saved her as much as \$300,000 in income taxes last year.

### 'He can Really Hurt Her'

"New Jerseyans are used to wealthy politicians like former Gov. Tom Kean and Senators Frank Lautenberg and Bill Bradley," said David P. Rebovich, a professor of political science at Rider College in Lawrenceville. "But the one thing Florio is attempting to do with Whitman is to show that she is out of touch. If he can make that point, he can really hurt her."

On Wednesday, Mrs. Whitman and her staff were meeting at her Bedminster farm when they looked out a window and saw three men with cameras on the road outside.

As they went out to challenge them, the men packed up and drove off in their van. Mrs. Whitman and an aide gave chase and caught up with the van when it slowed behind a truck.

They took the license plate eventually traced the van to the campaign of Governor Florio, which acknowledged that three men were shooting video pictures of the farm, presumably for use in campaign ads.

An angry Mrs. Whitman accused the men of trespassing and accused the Governor of waging "class warfare" and "sleazeball tactics" against her.

But now her attack seems to be backfiring. By drawing attention to the encounter, she has also drawn attention to the farm, which is just what the Florio campaign wanted.

"It's a little tough to stomp around on the high moral ground when your boots are full of mud, but the Governor is trying to do it," said Carl Golden, a spokesman for the Whitman campaign. "He is just trying to

divert attention. It's pretty clear that the pattern is emerging here."

Mrs. Whitman's strategy has been to attack Mr. Florio repeatedly over the record \$2.8 billion tax increase he pushed through a Democratic-controlled Legislature in 1990, only six months after coming to office with the pledge of no new taxes.

But the issue of her wealth has hounded her since the beginning of the political year. At one point during the primary campaign, she complained that her Republican opponents, Cary Edwards and James H. Wallwork, were attempting to portray her as "that rich bitch from the hills."

Mr. Florio's campaign, with James Carville plotting the strategy, has continued to drive home that sort of class warfare, using every opportunity to remind voters that Mrs. Whitman failed to pay taxes on an illegal alien couple she employed and that she failed to vote in her local school election because, she said, her children attend private schools.

### 'They Overreacted'

"I really think it is not so much what Florio or Carville have done than what Mrs. Whitman has done on her own to hurt herself," Professor Rebovich said. "Her campaign hasn't been proactive enough, and then they overreacted to Florio and created more stories than they needed to over campaign aides taking pictures of the farm. They are going to get the picture even if they have to fly a helicopter over, so why bother."

New Jersey and Virginia are the only two states with a gubernatorial election this year, and Mr. Florio is the only incumbent running for reelection. His close ties to President Clinton and the idea that both politicians raised taxes have made the outcome of this fall's election a referendum on the President's performance and popularity and a test of the political winds. Along with winning a Senate seat in Texas earlier this year, a victory in New Jersey would give Republicans another political embarrassment for Mr. Clinton.

It is uncertain at this point whether Mr. Florio's strategy is influencing voters. But it is clear that it has rattled some prominent Republicans.

"The opportunity to win the 1993 gubernatorial race is slipping away," Roger J. Stone, Jr., the former political consultant to Presidents Nixon, Reagan and Bush, said in a memo to Mrs. Whitman. Your campaign's failure to define any clear message beginning on Primary Night and continuing to date has allowed the media and

Florio to define you, largely because you have not defined yourself."

The Florio campaign has tried to turn Mrs. Whitman's farmland into a political issue last week, after she and her husband, John, released copies of their income tax returns, which showed the couple made nearly \$3.6 million in 1992 and paid more than \$1.3 million in Federal and state taxes and had qualified for a tax reduction on more than 200 acres under New Jersey's Farmland Assessment program.

But it did not become a news item until Wednesday, when Mrs. Whitman reacted so angrily to the cameramen.

Under a 30-year-old constitutional amendment, New Jersey residents whose property is classified as working farms are favored with a tax rate that is much lower than that charged for residential property, the intent of the law was to protect family farms.

The Whitmans own two properties - a 50.732-acre estate known as "Twenty Springs" in Far Hills in Somerset County and a 205.965-acre estate known as "Pontetract" spread over parts of Bedminster in Somerset County and Tewksbury in Hunterdon County - which qualify for the farmland assessments.

According to the Whitman's state tax returns, in 1992 they paid \$47.27 in taxes or 93 cents an acre on the Far Hills property, \$148.84 or \$2.84 on the 52.375 acres of the Pontetract farm that is in Somerset County and \$901.68 or \$5.87 an acre for the 153.59 acres that are in Hunterdon County.

The value of the land in the area differs according to its location and usage, but real estate records show that Mr. and Mrs. Whitman paid her sister-in-law, Frances Todd \$870,000 or roughly \$46,000 an acre, for 18,732 acres contiguous to the Far Hills farm in June of 1989.

To qualify as a working farm, a property must be a minimum of five acres and must generate at least \$500 per year in either agricultural or horticultural sales.

Over the last two years, 1991 and 1992, the Whitmans reported a total of \$6,654 in income from their farms, but total losses for the two years of \$95,108, which they attribute to start up costs.

According to state officials, there are nearly 29,000 participants in the Farm Assessment program and nearly a quarter of all the land in New Jersey is covered.

Rowland Evans  
And Robert Novak

## 'Bill Robinhood'

Bill Clinton's return to soak-the-rich populist rhetoric is intended to soften the blow of what is shaping up as the biggest broken campaign promise yet: an across-the-board energy tax.

Such a massive new tax would violate candidate Clinton's pledges to help the middle class. Nevertheless, White House aides hint it is likely to be contained in the economic package unveiled next week. The sweetener for this bitter pill is supposedly President Clinton's declaration that the "rich" will suffer even more—borrowing tactics and language from Jim Florio, James Carville and Kevin Phillips.

Thus, the president is not "Bill Robinhood," to use economic consultant Jude Wanniski's phrase. While the outlaw of Sherwood Forest took from the rich and gave to the poor, Clinton is set on taking from the rich, the middle class and perhaps even the poor and giving to the government.

Renewed populism marks the return to a major advisory role by Carville, Clinton's masterful campaign manager, and his able lieutenant, Paul Begala, following the botched first week of his presidency. The venue was peculiar, but the Carville-Begala imprint was unmistakable on Feb. 3, when Clinton gave a pep talk to Office of Management and Budget employees.

The president battered "the wealthiest Americans" for prospering more than their fellow citizens during the '80s, pledging that the "economic elite" will pay higher taxes "before I ask working Americans to work harder and pay more." This was a warm-up for three days later in his Saturday address to the nation when he pounded on "a privileged elite" and "the privileged few" and again promised that "the wealthy" would pay through the nose.

This would be verbal overkill merely to justify Clinton's longtime plan for a 10 percent surtax on million-dollar earnings and a hike in the current 31 percent top marginal income tax rate for joint incomes of more than \$200,000 to 36 percent. Even if augmented by a boost in the 34 percent corporate rate to 36 percent, these steps will not make an apparent dent in the deficit. Nor will cosmetic firings of low-level White House staffers and closing the Labor Department executive dining room.

When they were handed gloomy budget revisions some six weeks ago, Clinton number crunchers became convinced not only that the promised middle-class tax cut was out the window but that a broad-based tax increase was necessary if financial markets were not to be disappointed by lack of serious deficit-reduction efforts. They face three possible sources: income, general consumption or energy. The choice was energy, as the easiest politically.

If all forms of energy (heat, lighting, fuel) are taxed with the cost passed on to the public, Clinton will have breached his campaign compact with the voter. The formula for making it palatable was designed by strategist Carville for New Jersey's Gov. Florio in his successful 1989 campaign: justify a tax on everybody by concentrating on the rich.

Florio was also influenced by reading the rich-bashing books of Kevin Phillips, the renegade Republican who has become a favorite guru of liberal Democrats. The onetime Richard Nixon aide was delighted last weekend to learn that Clinton had carried to Camp David a copy of "Boiling Point," the latest Phillips book assailing Ronald Reagan's tax cuts as an assault on the middle class.

Appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press," Phillips said taxes on the middle class are "going up" but added: "... the key is whether taxes go up on the people above them so conspicuously more that the middle class will buy the shared sacrifice approach." That sounds cynical, but it is the path followed by Clinton (and, incidentally, is Florio's hope for surviving his 1990 tax increases and winning reelection this year, again under Carville's tutelage).

In time, Clinton may regret a tax-increase strategy as did Herbert Hoover and George Bush. But short-term negative consequences figure to be political. Supply-sider Wanniski, blaming Phillips and Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg, writes: "Sooner or later, the president will find that his pollster is wrong and the American people are not interested in class warfare and Robin Hood."

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The Washington Post  
2-16-93

# PRESIDENT ASSAILS 'SHOCKING' PRICES OF DRUG INDUSTRY

## PLANS A VACCINE PROGRAM

### Citing Children's Needs, Clinton Seeks Public's Support for Health-Care Proposals

By RICHARD L. BERKE

Special to The New York Times

ARLINGTON, Va., Feb. 12 — President Clinton criticized the powerful drug industry today for pursuing "profits at the expense of our children" as he sought to assign blame for soaring health care costs and to enlist public support for his own health program.

Mr. Clinton's blunt words, an echo of a similar attack on drug companies on Thursday by Hillary Rodham Clinton, came as he unveiled a proposal to spend \$300 million next year to increase the number of American infants and children who get vaccines. White House officials said the effort would lead to the immunization of one million more infants and children beginning this summer.

"Our prices are shocking," Mr. Clinton said. "The pharmaceutical industry is spending \$1 billion more each year on advertising and lobbying than it does on developing new and better drugs. Meanwhile, its profits are rising at four times the rate of the average Fortune 500 company."

#### Push for Lower Prices

Several drug companies, whose stock prices declined modestly today, contended that the President had been led astray by misleading statistics in asserting that vaccine makers were profiteering. Four of them said they would send representatives to a White House meeting next week to discuss prices with Mr. Clinton. [Page 8.]

While the President said Federal spending on immunizations at public clinics would rise sharply, he made it clear that he wanted drug companies to lower their prices. He said he had directed Donna E. Shalala, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, to begin negotiations immediately with drug companies on the price of childhood vaccines against polio, measles and diphtheria.

He also pledged to deliver a proposal to Congress that would guarantee the immunization of every child. Fewer than half of all 2-year-olds in the United States are fully vaccinated, White House officials said.

opening salvo of an aggressive campaign to try to drive down the cost of drugs and to sell the Administration's health plan to the public.

Administration officials said James Carville, an architect of Mr. Clinton's victory in the Presidential election last year, would be the political strategist for a nationwide effort to win support for the plan, which is being put together

## Clinton Accuses Drug Industry of

Continued From Page 1

by a team headed by Mrs. Clinton. Mr. Carville also managed the Senate campaign of Harris Wofford, whose upset victory over Dick Thornburgh was widely attributed to its emphasis on health care reform.

A day after Mrs. Clinton traveled to Pennsylvania to single out the pharmaceutical industry as a target for the public's discontent, Mr. Clinton went to a health clinic across the Potomac River to deliver an even harsher rebuke of the manufacturers.

Asked whether members of Congress, who are lobbied heavily by the pharmaceutical industry, would be behind his effort, Mr. Clinton told reporters: "Whether they are or not is up to them. But this is unconscionable. We are running the risk of new epidemics spreading out in this country. We cannot do it."

Making no secret of his goal to win over the public, he added, "I think the public outpouring on this is going to be so strong that they'll come along and do it."

Although major makers of vaccines complained that Mr. Clinton had unfairly singled them out, leading Democrats praised the President. "It is ap-

propriate for the President to insist that drug companies do their part as well," said Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee. He added that "the laissez-faire attitude of the past Administration meant that business too often was not asked to participate in meeting urgent national needs."

Mr. Clinton's appearance today at the health clinic at the Fenwick Center here, where children get free shots, was also a public relations prelude to his economic address to a joint session of Congress next week and had the feel of a campaign event.

Mr. Clinton said the vaccine program would be included in the economic plan he would announce to Congress on Wednesday. The program, he said, would create an increase in medical clinics' working hours and thus provide a small boost to the economy.

Administration officials said that they were still considering a plan that would have the Government purchase the entire supply of children's vaccines and distribute them free, but that they had not made any final decisions.

President Clinton has said he will submit legislation to Congress by May 1 to control health costs and guarantee access to health care for all Ameri-

## Putting Profits Ahead of Children

cans. Thirty-five million people do not have any health insurance.

But the Clintons say they expect fierce opposition from businesses and health care providers that get large amounts of income and profits from the current system. That is why they are enlisting Mr. Carville. Another veteran from the Wofford campaign, Celia Fisher, who was Mr. Clinton's leading operative in Pennsylvania during the campaign, has also been hired as a consultant to the Democratic National Committee to begin a grass-roots health care drive.

"I'm sewing on my chevrons, polishing my weapons and getting ready to go out and do battle," Mr. Carville said today.

Mr. Clinton said that while 10 states had negotiated agreements with vaccine manufacturers to get cheaper vaccines, others had been turned away.

"Today, we must tell the drug companies to change those priorities," he said. "We cannot have profits at the expense of our children." The President said he had specifically instructed Ms. Shalala, in her talks with the manufacturers, to assure that states could buy vaccines at affordable prices.

George Stephanopoulos, the White House communications director, acknowledged that the Administration in

seeking to persuade drug companies to reduce prices, could threaten to remove their tax advantages for research and development. But, he said, he hoped for "good negotiations," adding, "I don't know that we have to presume, necessarily, a completely adversarial relationship."

The average costs of vaccinating children have risen for several reasons, including the fact that more shots are recommended nowadays, prices have gone up, and there was a Federal excise tax on the vaccinations from 1988 to 1992.

In 1982, the average cost of a complete series of vaccines for a child, purchased by private doctors, was \$23.29. By 1992, the cost was \$243.90. In that same period, the cost for an average vaccine purchased under Federal contract rose from \$6.69 to \$128.79. Those figures are based on calculations by the Department of Health and Human Services and American Academy of Pediatrics.

The cost for a vaccination from a private doctor for diphtheria, tetanus or pertussis went from 19 cents in 1977 to \$9.97 in 1992. For an oral polio vaccination, the price rose from a dollar to \$9.91. And for measles, mumps and rubella, the price jumped from \$6.01 to \$25.20.

## THEY UNDERSTAND MIDDLE-CLASS SENSIBILITIES AND VALUES AND APPEAL TO THEM ON ECONOMIC ISSUES.

- They are very adept at identifying issues that "connect" with the voters -- particularly with middle class voters.

**Carville:** "I like to hang around Kmart stores and imagine what's inside people's heads. When people are ready to think about politics -- and it's just a little window -- you better connect with their lives."

**Begala:** "That's the only gift I think we have in this, is just a sense of how middle class people think and act and do." [Houston Chronicle 10/17/92]

**Democratic Strategist William Carrick:** "Carville has a real fix on what he wants politics to do for people. The campaign reflects a blue-collar populism." [Boston Globe 8/30/92]

"The key to Carville's success lies not only in his aggressive battlefield tactics but also in his ability to turn the concerns of the middle class into a message that voters can understand and remember. 'I'm a little like a piano player in a whorehouse,' he explained to a reporter for People (3/9/92). 'Somebody out there hums something, I try to pick it up.'" [Current Biography 3/1/93]

- Their strength is sensing the political environment and tapping into voter frustration and anger.

**Carville:** "There's going to be real anger against the Republicans if the Democrats are smart and lay out what happened to the rich and what happened to the middle class during the 11 years," he said. "The Democrats have to talk about reversing things, and they have to be very specific." [Wall Street Journal 11/7/91]

## WHAT ARE THEIR MIDDLE-CLASS ECONOMIC ISSUES?

- They emphasize economic issues like jobs, health care, paying for kids to go to college, etc.

**Carville:** "We're talking about real investment in job training, real investment in education, real investment in infrastructure, and a real effort to get health-care costs under control. All that is going to mean is a better America, and it's going to mean better opportunity for middle-class America." [Federal News Service 10/11/92]

"Wofford campaign spokeswoman Pat Ewing said Santorum's votes, including those against unemployment compensation and family and medical leave, were against the interests of middle-class families. She said Wofford has consistently supported health plans that include choosing a doctor while Santorum 'won't even support a health plan that is as good as he gets as a member of Congress.'"

- Interestingly, Carville and Begala also will on occasion attack those at the lower end of the socio-economic scale in order to attract middle class voters.

"Carville and Begala see less well-off whites as the most important target group in the American electorate. Such voters mistrust the wealthy and big business but are also wary of welfare programs, worry about crime and often see advances for African-Americans coming at their expense. Carville...understood the importance of the DLC's (Democratic Leadership Conference) emphasis on crime, welfare reform and the need for Democrats to embrace traditional themes such as 'personal responsibility.'"

[Kansas City Star 6/6/93]

## MIDDLE-CLASS ECONOMICS VS. THE SOCIAL ISSUES

- Carville and Begala tend to emphasize middle-class economics rather than social issues.

"Democratic Consultant Bob Shrum said Clinton's convention focus on middle-class economic issues rather than traditional Democratic interest groups was Carville's signature motif."

[The Boston Herald 7/26/92]

"Begala and James Carville had just finished working on the election that sent Harris Wofford to the Senate from Pennsylvania. Wofford, liberal on social issues, won despite a concentrated Republican attack on his social positions."

[Associated Press 4/25/94]

**Begala:** "The same voters who voted pro-life and are very conservative on social issues rejected all those attacks and said, 'Who do I know who's the guy who's best on bread-and-butter economic issues.'"

[Austin American-Statesman 11/4/92]

- Indeed, when Bill Clinton got into trouble over social/values issues like gays in the military, he called in Carville to re-focus the White House message on the economic issues that got him elected.
- Examples:

Clinton	"Plan"
Wofford	"Difference"
Wofford	"Trade"

## **SOME PERTINENT ELECTION RESULTS**

### **1992 Presidential Election Results**

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Bush</u>
Suburban Voters	41%	39%

### **Pennsylvania Senate '91 Post-Election Survey Results**

	Describes Well -- %	
	<u>Thornburgh</u>	<u>Wofford</u>
Stands up for middle class	38%	70%
Cares about people like me	42%	68%

[Source: POS Post Election 11/91]

### **1991 Election Results (Philadelphia Suburbs)**

	<u>Bush '92</u>	<u>Thornburgh '91</u>
Montgomery	40%	48%
Delaware	41%	49%
Bucks	38%	49%
Chester	44%	56%

**THEY ARE VERY AGGRESSIVE IN CAMPAIGNS, CONSTANTLY ON THE OFFENSE, ATTACKING, COUNTERATTACKING.**

- Whether delivering a positive or a negative message, Carville and Begala thrive on being on offense.

"Politics is just like everything else you do in life, "Mr. Carville said,. "You either let things happen or you make things happen." [New York Times 4/14/92]

**Carville:** "It's hard for somebody to hit you when you've got your fist in their face."

"In 1982 Richard J. Davis, the Democratic lieutenant governor of Virginia, hired Carville to manage his campaign for the United States Senate. When Davis lost narrowly (51% to 49%) to his Republican opponent, Congressman Paul Trible, Carville blamed his own unwillingness to go on the offensive in the final week of the campaign." [Current Biography 3/1/93]

- Carville is a master of agenda control: he answers an attack not with silence or an explanation, but with a counterattack, preferable one that re-emphasizes his campaign's themes.

"For years, Republicans have been able to run roughshod over Democratic presidential candidates. But that hasn't happened so far this year, largely because of the ferocious counterpunching directed and encouraged by Mr. Carville." [Wall Street Journal 9/23/92]

- They spend lots of time trying to line up surrogates to attack their opponent.
- Examples: Wofford "What Kind"  
Clinton's counter-charge operation, as described by the New York Times:

*Often, Clinton manages to combine in one passage an accusation that his Republican opponents are attacking unfairly, a defense against that attack, and a sharp attack of his own. He demonstrated this technique recently in Minneapolis in two short sentences: "They will say that you ought to trust them, and that you can't trust us. Well, I didn't tell you to read my lips."*

*The Clinton counter-charge operation uses a layered approach that incorporates daily comments by the candidate, statements by fellow Democrats and press releases that include pithy rebuttal remarks and pages of facts, figures and newspaper articles to buttress their arguments.*

**CARVILLE AND BEGALA ARE MASTERFUL AT TAKING TINY  
PIECES OF INFORMATION AND EXAGGERATING THEM TO MAKE  
THEIR CASE.**

- This applies to both positive and negative information.
- For example, they took the economic growth figures from *one month* of Clinton's 12-year governorship, and successfully argued that Arkansas under Clinton outperformed the U.S. in job growth.
- Likewise, they took Thornburgh's involvement in a meaningless Bush administration domestic policy task force to "prove" he was responsible for the recession and the nation's health care system.
- Example: Casey "Guru"

THEY LIKE TO BREAK UP THE REPUBLICAN BASE VOTE BY  
STEALING REPUBLICAN ISSUES AND OTHERWISE MAKING IT  
ACCEPTABLE FOR GOP VOTERS TO SUPPORT A DEMOCRAT.

- This is part of a general pattern by Democrats to attack Republicans on issues that voters normally associate with Republican strength and Democrat weakness.
- In addition, Carville uses various tactics to break up the GOP vote — everything from hard-hitting mail sent to GOP voters to organizational efforts like yard signs in suburban areas.
- Examples: Clinton    “New Covenant”  
                 Clinton on crime and foreign policy  
                 Wofford on the death penalty  
                 Casey mail in rural Pennsylvania

# The Washington Post

Washington, D.C.

## Clinton Charges Bush With Inaction on Crime

By E. J. Dionne Jr.  
Washington Post Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, April 21—Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton today charged President Bush with using promises to expand the death penalty as a substitute for real measures to fight crime and called on Democrats to take the issue of safe streets back from the Republicans.

During a campaign visit to a once drug-infested neighborhood here, Clinton moved to preempt what has been a powerful Republican issue for a quarter century by promising expanded federal help for neighborhood-based policing, drug treatment on demand and alternatives to imprisonment for first-time offenders.

Responding to questions about the execution today of Robert Alton Harris in California, Clinton said he supported capital punishment under "appropriate circumstances" at the state and federal levels.

But he argued that the issue was mainly "a question that each state will have to decide" and charged that Republicans had backed away from the federal government's main crime-fighting responsibility, which was to provide assistance to "the states—and the local law enforcement officials—where 90 percent of the work is done."

"We live in a very violent country in a very violent time," Clinton said at a street corner news conference a block from the Roberto Clemente Playground, which had once been the site of an open-air drug market. "President Bush has used an expansion of the death penalty as a cover for actually weakening the partnership of the federal government in the fight against crime."

The Republicans, he said, "say one thing and do another" by promising to curb crime and then cutting back on federal anti-crime programs. Clinton said crime would not be reduced "with some magic wand" but only

through painstaking effort: "block by block, crack house by crack house, neighborhood by neighborhood."

Although he was campaigning here for next Tuesday's primary, Clinton's remarks underscored the turn he is trying to make toward a general election style campaign against Bush.

His comments were significant as a sign that the likely Democratic nominee intends to take the offensive on an issue where Democrats have usually played defense. George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's deputy campaign manager, said that after 12 years of Republican control of the White House, it was time for Democrats to hold Republicans accountable for rising crime rates.

"You can only come back in so many campaigns and say, 'It's not our fault,'" Stephanopoulos said.

But when asked why Republicans had been so successful in using the crime issue, Clinton took his own party to task—and in the process returned to some of the heretical themes he had played down over the last six weeks in search for Democratic primary votes.

Clinton said that "Democrats have felt uncomfortable too often in national elections in talking about anything other than the economic circumstances of the country being responsible for rising crime rates."

While poverty did breed crime, Clinton said, "that is not enough to say, because crime violates our basic values as a society, because a lot of poor people live in this neighborhood and all over this country and they don't commit crime. They get up and do what's right every day, in spite of the fact that they're poor."

"There's a way to be tough and smart on crime," Clinton added, "without denying that there are social and economic conditions which make crime more likely for people who are deprived."

# CLINTON COUNTERS ON FOREIGN POLICY

## Democrat Says President Puts Partisan Taint on Debate

By GWEN IFILL

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, July 28 — Rejecting White House efforts to describe him as an untrustworthy choice for voters, Gov. Bill Clinton today accused President Bush and his aides of playing politics with foreign policy.

Mr. Clinton said that he had been prepared for Mr. Bush to attack his foreign policy credentials as a campaign tactic, but that "I don't think we should turn every issue into a partisan issue."

"They've been a little intemperate lately," Mr. Clinton said of White House officials.

The counterattacks from Mr. Clinton and his running mate, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, made it clear that the Democrats recognize that while foreign policy may be the President's strong suit, they have no intention of yielding to him. [Page A12.]

### 'Couldn't Have Read It'

Mr. Bush and his spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, both criticized the Democratic nominee on Monday. Mr. Fitzwater termed recommendations by the Arkansas Governor on the conflict in the former Yugoslavian republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina "reckless" and said they showed that he could not be trusted to formulate foreign policy.

"I don't believe Mr. Fitzwater read what I said about Yugoslavia," Mr. Clinton said. "He couldn't have read it and said what he said. I guess they're hoping that nobody else will read it."

In a statement issued over the weekend, Mr. Clinton said he would not rule out selective bombing of Serbian targets as a way of insuring the delivery of United Nations relief supplies.

"I didn't say we should do it, but it's something we shouldn't rule out unless you just want to give up the relief effort," Mr. Clinton said today. "My view is that we ought to continue the relief effort."

He said his statement was intended to "bolster actions that I think they'll probably be required to take in the next couple of weeks," adding, "I was frankly amazed at the reaction."

Mr. Gore went further this morning in what was clearly an orchestrated response to the Bush criticisms on Monday. Mr. Gore, who has described the White House as in a "panic," said that if Mr. Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle "are such whizzes" in foreign policy, "why is it that Saddam Hussein is thumbing his nose at the entire world?"

### Comment From Carter

And again Mr. Gore has accused Mr. Bush recently of "coddling" the Iraqi president in the weeks leading up to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. Again and again, he has accused the President of not taking action to halt Mr. Hussein's postwar attacks on Iraqi dissidents, including the Kurds, and has said Mr. Bush let the Iraqi leader "toy" with United Nations inspectors.

Mr. Gore always makes the point that he and Mr. Clinton supported the war in the Persian Gulf region and support whatever steps may be necessary next to keep Mr. Hussein in check.

## The Democrats go after the President's strong suit.

And former President Jimmy Carter, in an appearance with Mr. Gore in Atlanta, today accused Mr. Bush of the "politicizing of foreign policy" and said it would be "a travesty" if Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d left his job to help the President's re-election effort.

Mr. Clinton has sought to focus his campaign on the ills of the domestic economy. Speaking with reporters on his campaign plane today on the trip to Chicago from San Francisco, Mr. Clinton defended his foreign policy proposals but also tried to turn the debate back on to turf where he is most comfortable.

"I just don't think that either side should play a lot of politics with this country's foreign policy," Mr. Clinton said. "We ought to be working to develop bipartisan foreign policy. They're not there yet. We ought to disagree when we have to on the merits, and attention ought to be turned to the incredible problems of Americans here at home."

### Doesn't Always Disagree

Mr. Clinton has agreed with Mr. Bush on his handling of the confrontation in Iraq, where Mr. Hussein barred United Nations inspection officials from entering a building to examine military records in a weeklong stand-off.

He said today that he did not feel "constraints to disagree" with Mr.

Bush on every matter, and that he wanted to avoid allowing Mr. Hussein to use election year disagreements as a way of defying provisions of the ceasefire agreement.

"There had been several areas where I have disagreed with what his foreign policy — Haiti, China and other areas," he said. "But I have tried to avoid politicizing it too much. I certainly have in the case of Iraq and in the case of Bosnia."

He added, "I think the American people want a President who will play it straight in foreign policy, tell them the truth, that they desperately want this election to be about them and their lives and their future."

# The New York Times

DATE: 7/29/92  
PAGE: A1

### Was Offered a Briefing

Mr. Clinton also said that Brent Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, called him a few days ago to offer him a security briefing — an offer that is routinely made to nominees of the opposition party. Mr. Clinton said that he had accepted the offer but had not yet scheduled the briefing.

"I'm going to run the campaign I have to run," Mr. Clinton said today. "That's a responsible campaign on the issues that got me into the race for President. On foreign policy, I'm going to say what I think and try to be forthright and responsible. If I disagree with the Administration, I'll say it. When I agree with them, I'll say it."

"This election has got to be about making America strong at home, making the changes we've got to make at home, giving the Government back to the American people again," he said. "All this talk about foreign policy, you know, there is a limit to how strong we can be abroad if we're not strong at home."

# Mailagram

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MARILYN L. ROSE  
[REDACTED]

AS A FELLOW REPUBLICAN, I AM WRITING TO SHARE MY THOUGHTS ON THIS ELECTION. I HAVE LOOKED OVER THE RECORD OF BILL SCRANTON AND I HAVE CONCLUDED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER NOT TO VOTE AT ALL THAN TO VOTE FOR SCRANTON.

THIS HAS NOT BEEN AN EASY DECISION FOR ME TO REACH. I HAVE ALWAYS SUPPORTED REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES AND THOUGHT I ALWAYS WOULD - UNTIL I LEARNED A FEW THINGS ABOUT YOUNG BILL SCRANTON.

BILL SCRANTON DOESN'T SHARE OUR REPUBLICAN VALUES. IN PHILADELPHIA, A LIBERAL ACTIVIST EXPLAINED WHY HER ORGANIZATION FELT COMFORTABLE WITH BILL: "HE'S NOT A REAGAN REPUBLICAN. HE'S NOT EVEN A THORNBURGH REPUBLICAN." WHICH HAS ME WONDERING, WHAT KIND OF REPUBLICAN IS BILL SCRANTON?

I'M ALSO WONDERING WHAT EXPERIENCE BILL SCRANTON HAS THAT QUALIFIES HIM TO BE GOVERNOR. THIS IS HOW TIME MAGAZINE DESCRIBED HIS CAREER EARLIER THIS MONTH:

"THE YOUNG SCRANTON WAS A BLUEBLOOD REBEL IN THE '60S, A BEARDED PONY-TAILED YALIE WHO DEMONSTRATED AGAINST U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN VIET NAM."

BILL BOUGHT THREE NEWSPAPERS AFTER GRADUATION AND BECAME "A FLEDGLING CRUSADER FOR LIBERAL CAUSES, ENDORSING GEORGE MCGOVERN IN '72. THEN HE GREW BORED WITH JOURNALISM AND BECAME A DISCIPLE OF MAHARISHI MAHESH YOGI, TRAVELING THE WORLD EVANGELIZING FOR TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION."

WHEN THEY GAVE BILL SCRANTON THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR'S JOB, HE WAS "THE YOUNGEST AND ONE OF THE LEAST EXPERIENCED IN THE COMMONWEALTH'S HISTORY."

IN FACT, BEING LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR IS THE ONLY REAL JOB BILL SCRANTON HAS EVER HAD, BUT HE HARDLY EVER BOTHERS TO SHOW UP FOR WORK. TWENTY-SIX LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS PRESIDE OVER THEIR STATE SENATES. THE NATIONAL ATTENDANCE AVERAGE IS 88%. BILL SCRANTON MADE IT TO ONLY 16% OF THE STATE SENATE SESSIONS THIS YEAR -- SECOND WORST IN THE NATION.

LOOKING FOR THE EASY WAY OUT IS NOTHING NEW FOR BILL SCRANTON. AS A NEWSPAPER EDITOR, BILL WROTE A COLUMN ASKING WHY OUR SCHOOLS DON'T TEACH "THE ART OF LOAFING." SCRANTON ALSO WROTE EDITORIALS CALLING FOR REDUCED PENALTIES FOR MARIJUANA USE.

OUR GOVERNOR IS A ROLE MODEL FOR OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN AND A REPRESENTATIVE FOR ALL OF US. WHAT MESSAGE WOULD IT SEND TO OUR YOUNG PEOPLE IF SOMEONE WITH BILL SCRANTON'S VALUES AND CHARACTER GOT TO BE GOVERNOR?

RAYMOND MONG

# Focus

A

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1975

37

## Yogi's Voice in Harrisburg?

By ALAN RICHMAN

THE NEWEST TEAM working to get into government these days is William Scranton 3d and Maharishi Meeshb Yogi, one the son of the ex-governor and the other a Hindu monk. Together they would undoubtedly pose a formidable threat in the New Delhi Republican primary, but holding office is not their goal.

Scranton, 27, is living outside Harrisburg in middle-class comfort and spreading the message of transcendental meditation, the relaxation technique developed by the maharishi. The founder of the movement, who declines to give his age because "a monk does not reflect on his own life," is said to be living a modest existence in India while his disciples spread the word (and a \$3-million-per-year budget).

Transcendental meditation is somewhat easier to carry out than explain. It has been defined as "a method of allowing the mind to be drawn automatically to the deepest and most refined level of thinking." Scranton says it is "a state of rest, like a deep sleep, where the mind stays alert."

It had better be impressive, whatever it is, because Scranton is attempting to bring transcendental meditation to the minds that make up the bureaucracy of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. He and his wife Coral are international directors of the movement.

### 'Particular Goal'

"Our particular goal is to get as many people meditating as possible," he says. "We want the government to get involved because

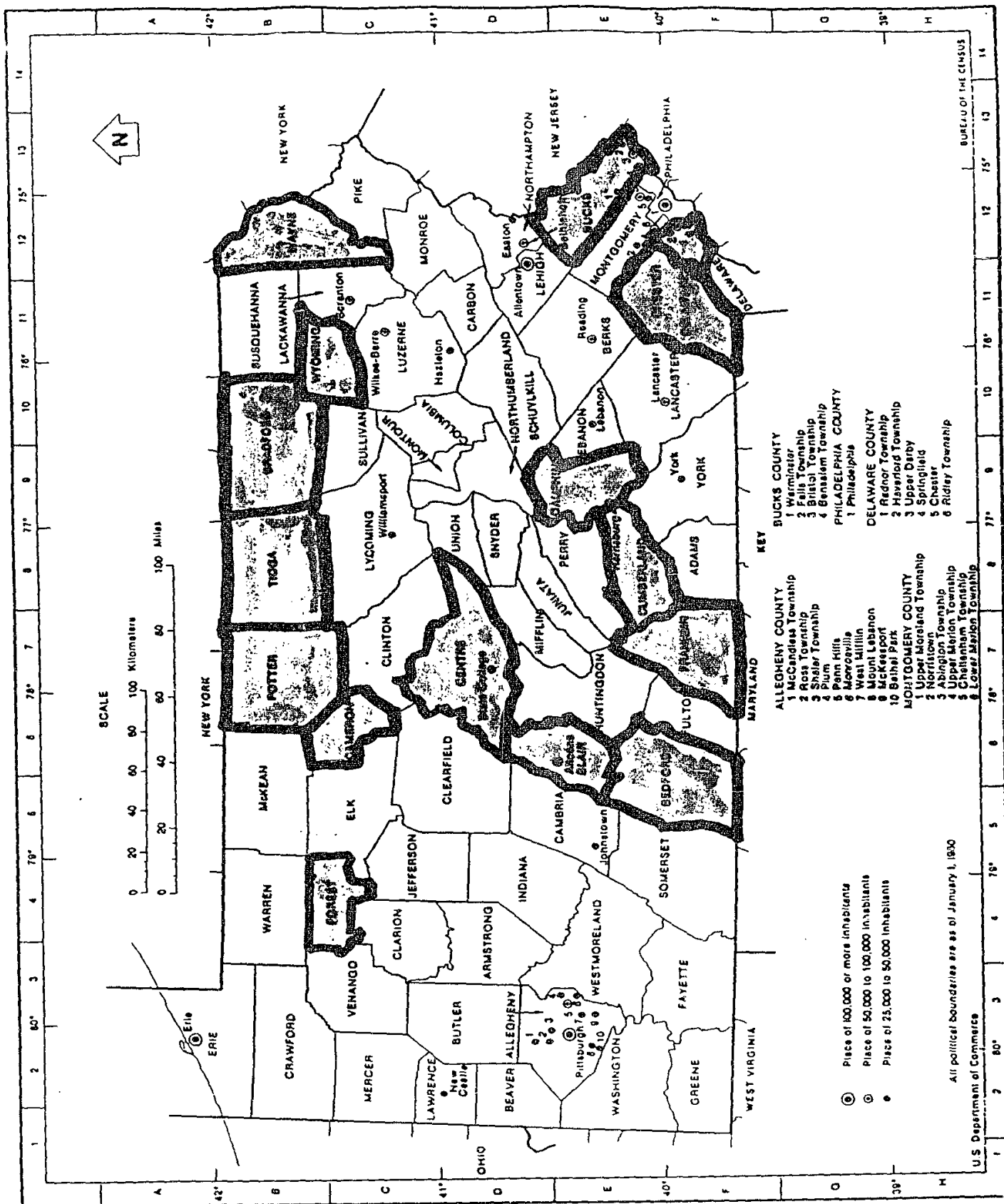


transcendental meditation has been shown to benefit education, drug-and-alcohol-prevention and rehabilitation, mental health and prison rehabilitation.

"What we are doing here is saving we have

THOUGHT YOU  
MIGHT LIKE  
TO SEE THIS.

— R.M.



**CARVILLE AND BEGALA WORK THE PRESS TIRELESSLY AND  
WILL STAGE EVENTS AND USE PROPS THE PRESS CAN'T AVOID  
COVERING.**

- They believe the press is useful to them and they spend lots of time courting the press.
- Their campaigns are marked by a blizzard of faxes, phone calls to reporters, constant "spins", etc.
- Some relevant quotes:

"Grunwald and other consultants said Carville's specialty is "earned media," their preferred term for manipulation of events, reporters and editors that result in news coverage.

'The earned-media side is the best thing he brings to every campaign.' Grunwald said. For Wallace Wilkinson (Kentucky gubernatorial race, 1987), she said, it was the staging of helicopter-assisted appearances for news outlets outside the traditional locales of Louisville, Franfort and Lexington.

'James got Wallace on his chopper and sent him to Paducah and Bowling Green in a day, and the value of every spot we put on the air was increased 10 times by what he did on the ground.' Grunwald said." [Louisville Courier-Journal 1/2/90]

- Example: Dogget "Spine" prop

# Clinton bid relies on Texan

## He pens and plans for the candidate

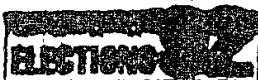
By Sam Attlessey

Political Writer of The Dallas Morning News

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — Paul Begala learned politics the hard way.

In his first and only major race for political office, he placed way behind a cartoon character named Hank the Hat-luctator.

Mr. Begala ultimately won the contest for student body president at the University of Texas at Austin when, he re-



calls, "a fictional little girl pointed her finger at Hank and went 'hang.'"

Hank's "assassination" in a college newspaper forced a runoff between Mr. Begala and a fraternity-backed candidate.

Mr. Begala picked up most of Hank's supporters and won the runoff, and he was hooked on politics.

But after graduation he quickly put aside his own political career, focusing on getting other Democrats elected to such offices as governor, U.S. senator and president.

Now, he is a senior strategist for Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, traveling constantly with the candidate as confident, spin doctor and occasional speechwriter.

Mr. Begala has developed a reputation as a brilliant wordsmith and a savvy strategist. Clinton sides say he also works well under pressure, citing an unscripted speech that Mr. Begala quickly crafted when they anticipated — incorrectly — that President Bush would attack Mr. Clinton's draft record when they made back-to-back appearances before the National Guard Association.

The 31-year-old Mr. Begala, whose daily attire consists of a blue blazer, blue jeans and black cowboy boots, is a business partner of Clinton chief strategist James Carville.

Their Washington-based consulting firm has been involved in some of the biggest political upsets in recent years, including the 1991 Senate race in Pennsylvania that garnered national attention.

Comparisons between Louisiana-reared Mr. Carville and Texas-bred Mr. Begala are inevitable.

Mr. Begala sometimes plays "good cop" to Mr. Carville's "bad cop."

Austin consultant Mark McKinnon, who has worked with both men, said of the two: "James is the hot sauce. Paul is the meat and potatoes."

"James speaks in tongues. Paul translates it into English," said Mr. McKinnon.

Mr. Begala is a suburban family man, happily showing off pictures of his 7-week-old, John Paul. He wanted to name the child Sam Houston, but his wife, Diane, vetoed the idea.

Mr. Carville lives in downtown Washington in a cramped office-apartment dubbed the Bat Cave. He had a reputation as a ladies' man until he started a relationship with Republican operative Mary Matalin.

Mr. Carville doesn't change his lucky underwear the final week of a campaign. Mr. Begala's only quirk is to wear his Longhorn underwear on Saturdays in the fall when Texas is playing football.

"You cut me. I bleed orange," he said.

Despite their personal differences, the two consultants complement each other, say other political professionals.

"James is an incredibly creative guy, but Paul is really the great communicator," said Texas Supreme Court Justice Lloyd Doggett.

It was in Mr. Doggett's unsuccessful 1984 race for U.S. Senate that the two consultants met and developed a friendship. A year later, it led them to form a long-lasting partnership.

Mr. Begala began the campaign as Mr. Doggett's personal aide or "bagboy." But Mr. Doggett recalled that he quickly discovered Mr. Begala was too valuable to serve as just a traveling aide.

So, fresh out of college, Mr. Begala began writing speeches, helping develop strategy and doing opinion research.

One of Mr. Doggett's Democratic primary opponents was then-U.S. Rep. Bob Krueger. Mr. Begala's research on the congressman indicated he had a record of flip-flopping on issues and being wishy-washy.

Dallas Morning News  
9/27/92

Clinton  
Democrat  
Carville  
Begala  
Gephardt

He took his findings to Mr. Carville, saying he believed that the campaign should accuse Mr. Krueger of lacking guts.

Mr. Begala recalled Mr. Carville's reaction: The term "guts" was too "squishy" and "mushy." Something harder was needed.

So, borrowing a plastic vertebra from a trial lawyer friend, the two developed an attack strategy in which Mr. Doggett used the prop to illustrate his charge that Mr. Krueger lacked backbone.

The consulting team ultimately lost that race to Republican Phil Gramm but since have scored several impressive victories, including Harris Wofford's upset of former U.S. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh for a Pennsylvania Senate seat in 1991.

Shortly after that victory, Mr. Begala and Mr. Carville joined the Clinton campaign.

As the presidential race heads into its final weeks Mr. Carville remains in Little Rock, directing strategy from what he calls "the bunker."

Mr. Begala is on the trail with the candidate.

"My job is to be on the road, to make sure I keep the governor on the straight and narrow, and help him with lines," Mr. Begala said as he sipped a beer in a Denver pub while awaiting the next Clinton campaign event.

"James is verbal, but he doesn't have the time or patience to write things out. I love to write," said Mr. Begala, who wrote speeches for Missouri Rep. Dick Gephardt's 1988 Democratic presidential campaign.

Mr. Begala refused to say what one-liners he has provided during the Clinton campaign.

"That," he said, with a smile, "would be like a hooker who publishes her list of clients. Part of what they pay me for is discretion."

Mr. Begala said Mr. Clinton is easy to work for because he stresses the same things that he and Mr. Carville believe work in elections these days: appeal to the middle class on economic and health care issues.

The young consultant, who was born in New Jersey but grew up outside of Houston, says he is in the sometimes cutthroat business of politics "because I like fighting the powers that be."

And of his partner, Mr. Carville says, "You meet some people in this business that are talented, and you meet some that are ethical."

"Paul has the rare combination of both."

THEY PAY VERY CLOSE ATTENTION TO DAILY EVENTS IN THE CAMPAIGN AND WILL JUMP ON THE OPPONENT'S ERRORS.

- Their simple objective is to win every day, so they monitor their opponent's activities, constantly looking for opportunities to attack.
- Some relevant quotes:

"Mr. Scranton vowed he wouldn't run a negative campaign, but his campaign sent out 600,000 pieces of mail attacking Mr. Casey's ethics.

Mr. Carville began counterpunching. He called reporters and told them the mailer was outrageous. Mr. Scranton replied, lamely, that he didn't know about the mailing. So Mr. Carville ordered 600,000 blank envelopes, loaded them up on a truck -- mountains of envelopes -- and dumped them on a street corner near Mr. Scranton's campaign headquarters. 'The T.V. cameras were rolling as we asked, "How could you send out this many envelopes and not know about it?"'" [Wall Street Journal 5/11/90]

- Example: Casey "Character"

THEY ARE NOT AT ALL RELUCTANT TO PUT VERY TOUGH OR  
DIVISIVE ADS ON TELEVISION, OR TO HAVE THEIR CANDIDATE  
SAY THINGS JUST TO GENERATE CONTROVERSY, AND WITH IT,  
PRESS ATTENTION.

- If these ads "blow up", Carville simply disavows them and moves on.
- Examples: Clinton on Sister Souljah

"That can translate into attacking someone you admire. Carville say he likes and respects Jesse Jackson, but Democrats say he orchestrated Clinton's June attack on Jackson and rap star Sister Souljah. His goal was to bring the candidate back into the news after he was overshadowed by President Bush and Ross Perot. And it was the one topic Carville would not talk about." [Boston Globe 8/30/92]

Casey	"Tree"
Mattox	"Drugs"
Lautenberg	"Fort Ord"
Clinton on Bush and the Persian Gulf War	

was "a very great difference" between what he was doing and the actions of the other side, which he described as "trying to convince the American people your opponent is some alien from outer space."

But much of what Clinton and his surrogates say about Bush neatly fits Clinton's description of the Bush campaign's attacks on him as "selective and personal and negative and often distorted."

When Clinton speaks of America under the Reagan and Bush administrations, he paints a picture of a country on hard times, where "Americans worked harder for less money," but never mentions that the decade also saw (as Republicans like to say) the nation's longest period of economic expansion.

- Bush gets no credit

When Clinton talks of the war Bush led against Iraq, it is only to speak of the failures of diplomacy that occurred before the war, and the failures of the peace that followed it, almost never of the extraordinary success of the military operation itself.

A classic example of Clinton's approach can be found in his oft-repeated contention about the Bush administration's handling of the end of the Gulf War. Clinton argues that the Bush administration propped up Iraqi President Saddam Hussein after the war. As he recently and typically put it, "They couldn't wait to keep him in power."

The charge imputes a grave and large moral failing on the part of his opponent, suggesting that Bush is a man of utter dishonor. It is made without evidence to support it. And it is delivered lightly, almost parenthetically.

Often, Clinton manages to combine in one passage an accusation that his Republican opponents are attacking unfairly, a defense against that attack, and a sharp attack of his own.

- An attack on trust

Speaking to a crowd in Minneapolis on Friday night, he demonstrated this technique in two short sentences: "They will say that you ought to trust them, and that you can't trust us. Well, I didn't tell you to read my lips."

The Clinton counter-charge operation uses a layered approach that incorporates daily comments by the candidate, statements by fellow Democrats and press releases that include pithy rebuttal remarks by Stephanopoulos and pages of facts, figures and newspaper articles to buttress those arguments, gathered by Wright's research operation.

- It works

The drill usually works. When, last week, Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr. of South Carolina attacked Clinton's record on welfare reform, Wright produced a letter from Campbell dated years before praising Clinton for his work in this area.

Clinton and his aides are also quick to dismiss virtually all criticisms by the other side as "negative campaigning," reminiscent of the sort used by the Bush campaign of 1988. The Republican campaign was widely criticized by Democrats, and by many in journalism. One result has been that any accusation of "negative campaigning" is seen as damaging.

The measure of the strategy's success to date became clear when the Bush campaign issued an extraordinary press release on Aug. 2

## CARVILLE AND BEGALA USE OPPOSITION RESEARCH VERY WELL.

- Unlike many GOP campaigns, Carville and Begala not only believe in research, but they will use it to keep up a steady, daily drumbeat against the GOP opponent.
- Some relevant quotes:

"Known for his reliance on negative advertising and in-depth 'opposition research,' Carville has been called everything from 'a barracuda' and 'the Attila the Hun of the Left' to 'the ragin' Cajun' and 'the Democrat' Lee Atwater." [Current Biography 3/1/93]

"Both love negative research, digging up damaging information about the record of opponents. 'They know more about what the other side is doing than the other side will know about itself.' said Democratic consultant David Doak." [USA Today 4/27/92]

"Carville's technique, friends and opponents say, is to research rivals, then use the data." [Boston Globe 8/30/92]

"Donna Brazile, a Democratic strategist, said of Atwater and Carville: 'They both have guts and instincts...They find out where the other guy is vulnerable and hit him harder, harder, harder and keep hitting him.'" [Boston Globe 8/30/92]

- In some of their previous campaigns, they hired opposition researchers and paid them from their own fees.
- It is not unusual for them, as part of their research, to follow the opponent around, videotaping campaign events.

"Mr. Carville sent a spy to watch Mr. Thornburgh's announcement speech in August." [Wall Street Journal 11/1/91]

**ADDENDUM:**  
**SOME PENNSYLVANIA '91 OBSERVATIONS**

1. Carville believes Wofford won the Philadelphia suburbs in '91 as a result of one major reason (the middle-class message and an assortment of minor reasons).

- He points to:

- Health care
- Wofford's being from the suburbs (Bryn Mawr)
- The Inquirer endorsement
- Abortion issue

- Both Carville and Begala believe abortion was at best a minor factor in the race. They see middle-class economics as decisive to Wofford's win.

- An interesting fact: Begala is reportedly pro-life.

2. Begala believes Wofford gained credibility with the press by openly documenting every claim his ads made.

- He likes "adwatch" boxes because they "reward" campaigns that document their claims, as Wofford did.

**T**HE WEEK THAT James Carville finally became *the* James Carville—and not just another political consultant—he celebrated his arrival by hanging out in his underwear, watching *Andy Griffith* reruns.

“Don’cha just love Aunt Bee!” says Carville, jabbing at the remote control.

He’s stretched out on the sofa in his Capitol Hill home and headquarters, better known to his pals as the Bat Cave.

“Uh, James,” says an assistant, peeking out from the kitchen where the bourbon’s stashed. “*Newsweek*’s on the phone.”

Carville waves his hand to signal that he’s not here.

“There’s a great scene coming up with Barney,” he says.

**IT HAD BEEN** only a few days since Carville was held responsible for the biggest splash made by a Democrat since Ted Kennedy crossed the bridge. His Senate candidate, Harris Wofford, had trounced former Attorney General Dick Thornburgh—who didn’t even know how to pronounce Wofford’s name! It was no wonder the pundits went looking for the man behind the Wofford curtain. What they found was James Carville, the Ragin’ Cajun.

Only Carville could have gotten an ex-founder of the Peace Corps elected with the line, “It’s time to take care of our own.” Lord knows, he’d pulled off stranger things to put Democrats in office. But now he had slain a

Republican that even *Nightline* cared about. So it wasn’t Wofford but Carville who got invited to go

# He Came FROM THE Swamp

**JAMES CARVILLE  
MIGHT BE THE  
DEMOCRATS’  
BEST HOPE IN ’92.  
GOOD THING HE  
ISN’T RUNNING.  
BY LISA DEPAULO**

on the show. Suddenly he was the Democrats' Lee Atwater. The shrewdest political strategist in the country. The one who sent the message to George Bush.

Of course, if Wofford had lost the Senate race, Carville would continue to be remembered as "that prick from Louisiana," as more than one of his colleagues put it. But when Wofford won, and with *legitimate issues*—how about that for a gimmick?—Carville, too, became legitimate.

Never mind that the real issue was convincing the voters of Pennsylvania that Thornburgh had been in Washington too long. And never mind that the best line of the campaign didn't even come from Wofford's own brain. Or from Carville's. That line, "If a criminal has a right to a lawyer, why doesn't a working American have a right to a doctor?" was something an ophthalmologist said—and Carville promptly stole and fed to Wofford. But Thornburgh still managed to blow a 47-point lead!

And so it was that, after criticizing Thornburgh for "expecting a coronation but getting an election instead," Carville got the glory. CNN called for his expert analysis. *People* magazine called to do at least three pages. *Vanity Fair*, *Esquire*,

and *GQ* all called to promise him the star-profile treatment. *Time* magazine called—and not just for another interview. They were wondering if he had time to stop by and talk to the editors about where he thought the country was going.

"Shit," said Carville. "This is gettin' wild."

IT DIDN'T TAKE long for the media to tire of Harris Wofford. And to concentrate on James. He had become the spokesman for a frustrated middle America, the best hope the Democratic party has had since . . . well, there is no since, and that's part of what makes Carville hot.

The other part, which was never lost on James, is that he wasn't like the other animals. "It's a great hook," he said when all the attention started, "this crazy Cajun guy, just in from the swamps, who probably bites the heads off moccas-

his. If my name were Bunky Auchincloss or Sam Greenfield, I'd be just another guy in Washington."

It also didn't hurt that there was a romantic hook. Washington political insiders were abuzz, even before the Wofford victory, when James started squiring Mary Matalin, the bright, attractive chief of staff for, of all things, the Republican National Committee, and the most powerful woman in the Bush re-election campaign. Though they'd been together for over a year, and are hardly the only political animals who date out of their religion, now the romance was an issue.

By mid-December, amid a swirl of rumors that Matalin was under pressure from some ornery Republicans because of her romance with Carville, the *Post's* Personalities column reported that "the most celebrated bipartisan relationship of the year is apparently being put on hold"—after being spoon-fed the news of the "breakup" by James. But insiders knew that the only thing that was apparent was Carville's spin control.

When Carville was pushing 40, nobody would hire him. He put everything he owned into a garment bag . . . then sat down on Massachusetts Avenue and cried.

Tara. But, actually, Chez Carville is a one-room basement apartment furnished mostly with the socks and underwear strewn across the floor. There's a sticker on the front door that says ZELL MILLER FOR GOVERNOR, half-empty bottles of aftershave and bourbon, and some reading material, such as the *Baseball Encyclopedia* and the Mobil atlas, and the complete Time-Life Books video series on the Civil War.

The most prominent decorative touch—besides the pea-green-and-turquoise flowered curtains that were there when he moved in—is a beautifully framed photograph of Don Knotts as Barney Fife. Fitting, since the only organization James has ever belonged to, other than the Democratic party and the Marine Corps, is the Andy Griffith Re-run Fan Club, which really does exist; he's the co-founder of the Washington chapter.

That much that holds James looks like it once might have been off-white; the only chair is covered with his laundry. When he presses a button, a bed—and more laundry—falls out of the wall.

James reports that once when the Bat Cave was broken into, the only thing the burglars stole was the whiskey.

"Now, watch this scene with Barney, it's a great scene," says James. "Ya watchin' this?"

What's the choice?

Actually, they're pretty modest boxer shorts he's wearing—covered, almost, with his favorite LSU T-shirt. But we're not here to discuss the underwear of perhaps the only 47-year-old on Capitol Hill who still lives like he's in a college frat.

At the moment, he's the only political expert being hotly pursued not only by *People* magazine but by three of the six Democrats running for president. And as he pops in another episode of *Andy*, he has yet to decide who he will sign on with to try to Thornburgh George Bush.

When, a week later, the white smoke comes up from the Bat Cave—that James will be working for Bill Clinton—*USA Today* announces the news not with a picture of Clinton but with a picture of Carville. The *Washington Post* headline says: CLINTON WINS THE CARVILLE PRIMARY. In an hour, two networks and *Time* show up at the Bat Cave for a photo opportunity.

"Guess I'm still the fashionable quote slut," he says.

They set up their equipment in the Carville living room, and James—who has on his good jeans—gets quizzed, under the strobe lights and in front of the framed Barney Fife, on everything from David Duke to John Sununu. What he tells them is impressive, in his cut-through-the-bull way, and the journalists can't help but tell him so. One says it was a joy to be here since usually she's stuck covering Bush.

When they pack up their bags and leave, it occurs to him that what some people are saying is true: that he could have more influence on the coming presidential election than anyone could have ever dreamed.

"Now that's a frightening thought," drawls James.

LESS THAN a decade ago, when Carville was pushing 40, he couldn't find work in this business. In 1983, he came this close to bailing out.

He'd spent eight of his first 38 years getting through college, did two years in the Marines, spent one year as a junior high school science teacher and two summers working on a Mississippi barge. When he breezed through law school in the '70s, his mama wasn't the only one

to breathe a sigh of relief. But his end was to spend the next five years as "maybe the worst lawyer in Baton Rouge."

He got into politics by helping someone tear down signs. Little by little, he started getting better jobs, like chauffeuring the candidate around, or tearing down bigger signs. Back then his motivation was simple: "I needed the paycheck." But as he bounced from state to state—a DA's race here, a governor's primary there—he discovered he was pretty good at this, and so did the people around him.

By 1982, he got to run his first race, with the help of Mark Shields, the *Post* columnist, and Peter Hart, a long-time Democratic pollster, who believed in him enough to help him find work. One of the interviews that Hart arranged got him the top job in a US Senate race in Virginia. If you never heard of Senator Dick Davis, it's because Carville, as he himself says, "blew it." Though others say he ran a good campaign, Carville still beats up on himself for wimping out at the end of a very tight race. "I just wasn't aggressive enough in the final week." It was a lesson he'd never forget.

After the Davis loss to Paul Trible, Carville couldn't get a job in politics, even though the 1984 presidential campaigns were getting organized. He moved himself to Washington, figuring "they gotta be near your chain to jerk it," knocked on lots of doors, slept on a lot of friends' floors. He interviewed for a job as a scheduler in the Mondale campaign and didn't get it. He talked to people in the Glenn campaign and didn't get anywhere. He even took a train to Philadelphia to meet with mayoral hopeful Wilson Goode. When he returned, he sat by the telephone for days, hoping the future mayor of Philadelphia would call. "When I never heard from him, I got real depressed," he says.

Finally, in the spring of '83, he got a job with Gary Hart. It promised him \$2,000 a month, if there was money, and the chance to go back home, to organize Hart's campaign in the South. So he put all his worldly goods into a garment bag and started walking to Union Station.

"It was a cold day in April, real cold and rainy, and I just wanted to go home so bad. I knew that all the flowers would be out, you know? And I wanted to see my mom. . . . And as I'm walking up Massachusetts Avenue in the rain, thinking of all the things you might think of if you're almost forty years old and everything you own is in your bag and you only have forty-seven dollars and you don't know how you're gonna get home . . . the shoulder strap broke. And that was kind of it. I just sat there on Massachu-



Back home in Louisiana: James says he grew up in a town so small "they had to cancel drivers' ed and sex ed at the same time. . . . The mule died."



James spent Christmas Eve playing *bourée* with Miss Nippy. "Ahm a mama's boy," he says.

setts Avenue and cried like a baby."

When he got up, he made one of the more humiliating phone calls of his life—to a friend in Baton Rouge, who wired

him \$5,000. "I said, 'I just can't live like this anymore.'"

**HE NEVER** did organize the South for Gary Hart. But he got a call from some friends in Texas, and ended up managing a US Senate race for Lloyd Doggett, who's now on the Texas supreme court. The job lasted fourteen months, through a grueling primary, a run-off, and then an election loss to Phil Gramm. "Now I was forty," says James, "and a stoned-ass loser."

Still, it was in Texas in '84 that he honed his skills, learning the kind of tricks that would come in handy. For one thing, he began to perfect the theme he'd use so well against Dick Thornburgh—that of the strug-

gling underdog versus the overprivileged, spoiled politician. In the Doggett campaign, the theme surfaced in a 30-

*Continued on page 141*

## Carville

Continued from page 59

second spot—of a guy sitting in his mansion, waiting for his butler to answer the bell, followed by the tag line: "Kent Hance. He isn't a congressman. He's a butler."

The ad—which James calls a "creative negative spot"—helped win the closest run-off election in Texas history. Though Doggett lost the general, the strategy Carville used was a dry run for the Wofford race. Maybe he was ahead of his time: Doggett's big commercial was a spot called "Washington Forgot," which featured an old woman in a nursing home, rocking away, as the bureaucrats in Washington leave her to rot.

It was also in Texas that James acquired his business partner, the low-key Paul Begala. He's an equal partner in Carville-Begala but seems content with the fact that he never gets invited to go on *Nightline*.

When the two met during the Doggett race, Paul was the travel aide/speechwriter, "which meant the guy who got to deliver the sandwiches to the big boys' meeting where they were interviewing James," says Begala. "When I saw this guy, and heard him tossing off these

great one-liners, I stuck around." Begala says Carville was so outrageous, so totally unlike the other political-experts-in-suits that Doggett was parading in, he never thought Doggett would hire him. "But I thought at the very least I could steal some of his lines for my speeches."

After the Doggett race, James went wandering the South again, looking for his next big gig. Oddly enough, he was making a name for himself—odd in that this

age of his life insurance and crashing on Begala's couch. And that's when the call came that pretty much changed his life.

It was big-shot Democratic media guy David Doak on the line with a proposition: Would James Carville come to Pennsylvania to run a governor's race for a guy who had got his butt kicked three times already but wanted to try again? Bob Casey—who was known to the Republicans as "the three-time loss from Holy Cross"—now

If there's one thing that rankles the other political experts, it's "how a guy this ugly gets such great women." They never do understand.

does not seem the kind of business where what matters is how you play the game. Yet points are given, within the circle of insiders, for the kinds of skills James was beginning to master: fearlessness, doggedness, and the ability to take a total long shot and get him into the game. He was also honing a message with his mostly underdog candidates, an us-against-them message that even he seemed to believe in.

**BUT BY THE END** of '85, Carville was back in Texas, borrowing

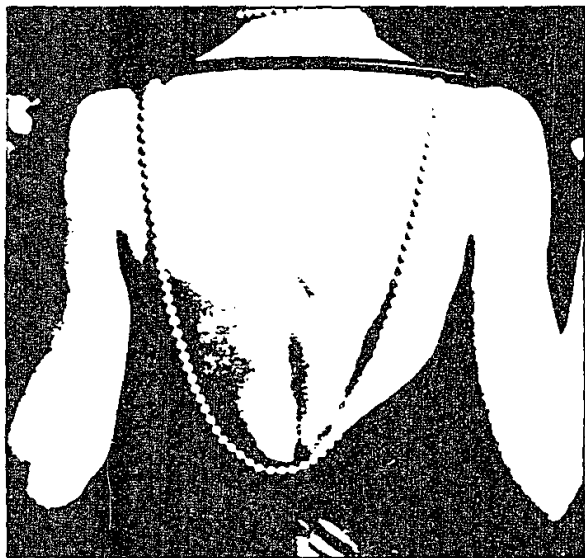
wanted to challenge Bill Scranton Jr., the popular lieutenant governor and son of a popular former governor.

Carville remembers thinking to himself: "Bingo."

What he told Doak was: "What the hell. He's the only guy in America who's lost more races than I have!"

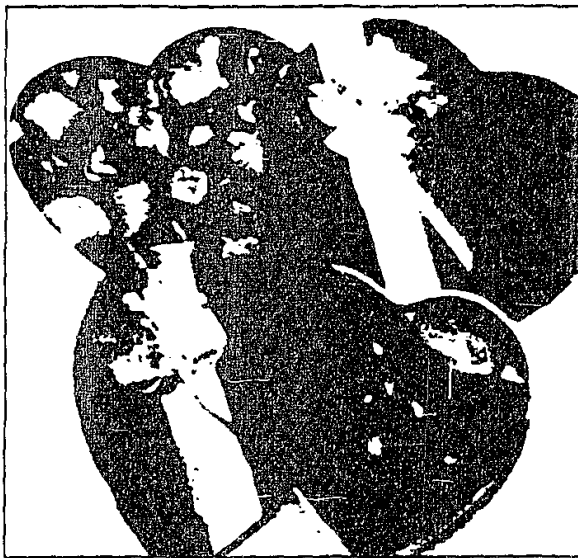
Carville arrived in Pennsylvania armed and ready for combat. How he won that war is something the armchair political pundits continue to get hot and bothered about—particularly when the topic of

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When Carville finished in Pennsylvania, he went on to invade several more states—not unlike Sherman in the Civil War. Five years later, he had destroyed Republicans in Kentucky, New Jersey, Georgia, and again in Pennsylvania. By that point, "the Ragin' Cajun" was the nicest thing he was called. The second nicest things were "the Terminator," "Rasputin," and "Attila the Hun of the Left." "If you saw Carville sleeping on a rock," said one critic, "your instinct would be to stomp him."

And that's when Harris Wofford, the nice man who invented the Peace Corps, called—and finally made Carville famous in Washington, DC.

**THE MORNING** James is to appear on *Good Morning America*, a car from ABC picks him up at the Bat Cave and delivers him to the studio. He's been summoned as the expert to discuss "Disarray in the White House." Which is probably why he's wearing his best suit: Blue jeans, black socks, a blue shirt, his tie, and a blue blazer. So legendary is his inability to dress like he's in Washington that, when Harris Wofford won, he placed one of his first calls to James's mother and asked, "Didn't you teach this boy how to dress?"

In the other corner, defending the White House, is Professional Republican

Frank Fahrenkopf, dressed in such a way that if there's a problem at ABC he could fill in for one of the anchors. As Fahrenkopf adjusts the hankie in his pocket, he and James get called to the set. Fahrenkopf responds by walking quietly down the hall. James starts out quietly, then as they get to the set, blurts: "Rah-rah-ree! Get 'em in the knee! Rah-rah-rass! Get 'em in the other knee!"

Fahrenkopf pauses on his heels but continues toward the set. James shrugs. "Just an oi' Cajun cheer," he says.

They take their places in front of the fake drawing of the Capitol with window panes over it, and just as they're about to roll, James asks Frank: "So why did you get into Republican politics?" Fahrenkopf adjusts his wire-rimmed glasses, clears his throat, and seems about to answer when an ABC technician says "Stand by!"

Later, staffers from *Good Morning America*—who've seen more than their share of political experts—would marvel at Carville's performance. "He reminded me of Sam Ervin," one said. "You knew the minute Ervin said, 'I'm just a country lawyer,' watch out. Carville's the same way. He is one smart man. But he also seemed quite genuine."

Indeed, one of the keys to Carville is his ability to be totally disarming. To be sure, many other politicians, particularly southern politicians, have fine-tuned this act.

With Carville, it never seems an act. Soon as the on-air light goes on at GMA, James—who in head shots already bears the burden of looking like E.T.—starts giggling, mugging, grinning, like a six-year-old who gets on television. When he smiles, his eyes become narrow, diagonal slits, and he was smiling so hard through this segment that "we thought he was blind at first," says a GMA staffer. At some points in the segment—especially when Fahrenkopf starts the Republican mantras about "the president's plan" and "the president's great record"—James seems to be trying so hard to suppress the laughter that he's about to split his seams.

When it's his turn, he explains that the problem with Republicans is that they're "like the Oklahoma weather: You don't like what's going on? Wait five minutes, it'll change."

When James leaves the set, he proceeds to thank all of the crew, then to ask just about everyone at ABC studios—from the greeter at the door to political reporter Hal Bruno—if he did all right.

"You were great," says Hal Bruno.

"Are you sure?" says James.

"Great!" says Bruno.

"Didn't look too mean, did I?" Someone apparently told James that on *Nightline* he had looked like one of America's Most Wanted.

"Nah," says Bruno, "and you didn't

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mislead the American public too much, either."

**IN THE CAR** back to the Bat Cave, James is asked if all that laughter on the set was nerves, an attempt to not look mean, or if he really thought what Fahrenkopf was saying was so hilarious.

"Not really," he says. "I mean, let's face it. Going on these things is *fun*. My job is fun." He is holding his souvenir *Good Morning America* coffee mug in his lap.

"I mean, I've been a *sound bite* before. But it wasn't until *Nightline* that I had a quote-slutted half-hour. So, this was kinda my second big TV thing."

The driver from ABC asks James where he's going, sir. And James gives him the address of the Bat Cave.

"Of course, the success of these things is determined by how many phone calls my mother gets when it's over."

The first thing James does when he gets home is call his 73-year-old mother in "Loozeeanna." Miss Nippy, as she is known, is, according to his closest friends, the key to understanding James. It is said he picks the candidates he works for based on who Miss Nippy would be comfortable voting for. Though, as another friend put it, "if James became an interplanetary alien instead of a Democrat, Miss Nippy would turn green and put on Martian clothes."

"Hey!" he says on the telephone. "You see the *Good Morning America*? ... You liked it? ... You already got some calls?"

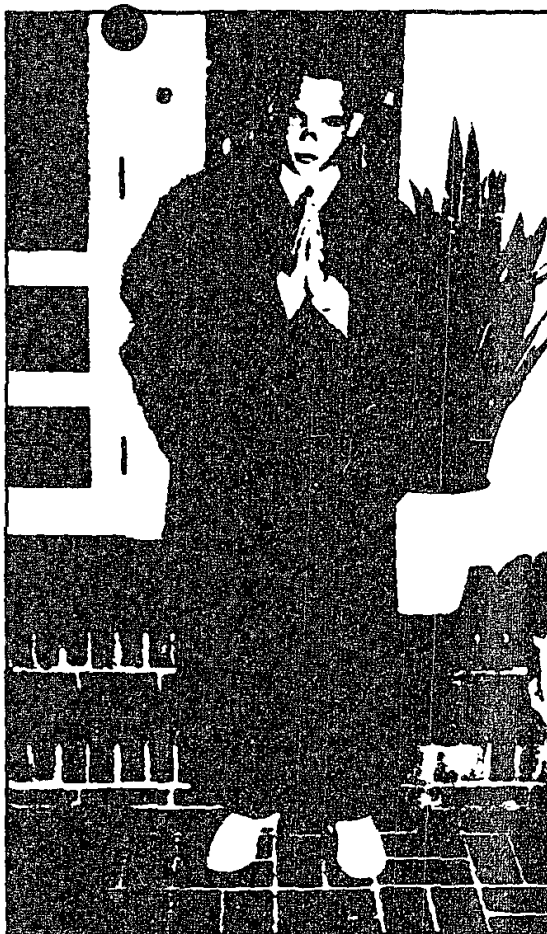
James puts his hand over the phone and says, "She already got some calls."

Then: "Listen Mom. I need you to send the cookbook to a few guys. ..."

Miss Nippy has published her own cookbook on Cajun food. She couldn't get a publisher, so she brought it to a local printer, then went around in a van with boxes in the back and sold it herself. It's in its seventh printing, with 14,000 copies sold. He is his mother's son.

"Yeah. Frank Fahrenkopf," James is saying on the telephone. "F-A-H . . . He's the Republican, right. . . . And Hal Bruno. B-R . . . Send them the cookbook, okay? And send me the bill. . . . I gotta go to a meetin'. I'll call ya later."

James hangs up the phone and blushes. "Ahm a mama's boy," he says.



**Little James on Confirmation Day:** Before he was a political consultant, he was an altar boy.



**In his Catholic all-boys high school, James discovered sports.**

## AND A LADIES' MAN.

If there's any one thing that rankles the other political experts—besides James's savvy, his status as a media darling, and the fact that he's hot and they're not—it's, in the words of one: "How a guy this ugly gets such great women."

They never do understand.

before he hooked up with Matalin, James had this thing for attracting very smart, very pretty, very independent career types—many of whom still adore him.

"When women go for James, they *really* go for James," says one, who really went for James. His mind, says another, is "an incredible aphrodisiac." That, and his "southern charm," his "gentlemanly flair," and the fact that "James is not like most guys you're likely to meet in Washington." To put it another way: He doesn't act like a guy who's losing his hair.

"Unfortunately, he has a short attention span," says one, "for everything except politics."

But he's had a long attention span for Matalin, who pushed an introduction after reading a story about him in the fall of 1990. That night she was at a dinner



**He joined the Marines to punish himself for getting drunk every night at LSU.**

party and asked one of the guests, an NBC producer, if she'd ever heard of James Carville. The producer passed Mary's number to James, and after a few weeks of political debates on the telephone, they met for a date last January and have been in unofficial la-la-land ever since. Unofficial because, now that Carville's signed on with Clinton and Matalin is stumping for Bush as political director for Bush-Quayle '92, the romance has become something both are gun-shy about discussing—except for issuing denials to the *Post*.

The comparisons made of James to the late Lee Atwater have made them even more discreet. Matalin adored Atwater, who was her mentor, her boss at the RNC, and her friend. That Matalin started seeing James last January, when At-

water was dying, has made the subject even touchier.

News of the relationship didn't take long to travel through the Capitol Hill grapevine. "Last spring I was having lunch with her at Two Quail," remembers columnist and political analyst Charlie Cook. "and she casually asked me if I knew James Carville. . . . The conversation moved on and I didn't think much more of it until a few minutes later I see Carville coming through the restaurant. He walks straight to our table and goesos her in the restaurant. I mean, a real goose. Then he sat down and had lunch with us. It was pretty clear then that they were an item."

Cook adds that they are the most unlikely couple you'd ever meet: "James looks like he pumps gas down at the fillin' station, and Mary is very elegant and sophisticated." But, as other friends point out, they're very much alike—witty, obsessed with politics, and from not-so-different backgrounds. Matalin, who's 38, grew up around the steel mills of Chicago, where her dad worked in the mills and her mother ran a beauty parlor, one reason why Mary attended both law school and beauty school. She was married briefly in the early '80s; her ex is involved in Republican politics in Ohio.

**MATALIN** and Carville had their official coming out, of sorts, in April, when James threw a jambalaya party on Capitol Hill. He imported all of his brothers and sisters and Miss Nippy—who drove up in a van with the jambalaya ingredients. Miss Nippy didn't trust that the stores in Washington would have "quality ingredients," so she transported everything—from the chickens to the onions to wood for the jambalaya pots—and cooked for 400 in an alley behind the Bat Cave. James rented the American Legion Hall on Capitol Hill, where his guests, unaccustomed as they were to this type of Washington soiree, proceeded to go through "twelve kegs and fourteen cases of beer," James says proudly. "I was kinda hopin' a fistfight would break out, so I could feel at home."

"And the whole thing was a scam," says James's friend Jon Macks. "to sell his mother's cookbook." Indeed, Miss

Nippy held court at the door, with 400 copies of the book and a cash box.

It's been said that Matalin fell for James that night.

Until they went undercover and out on their separate campaign trails, the couple spent most of their time in Washington at Matalin's Cleveland Park apartment—she "went wild" when she saw the Bat Cave, James admits—where he does all of the cooking. A closet gourmet, he's a devotee of the Italian chef Marcella Hazan.

He's taken Mary home to Louisiana three times—including over Easter and Thanksgiving. Before the *Post* item ran, friends said they'd never seen James so serious about anyone. According to Miss Nippy, "He seems very attached to her, and she to him. And I just think she

is a beautiful, lovely girl. . . . Of course I wish he'd get married and have some chillen."

**"Suddenly there were girls everywhere and bars open every night," says James of his LSU education. "I ended up with fifty-six hours' worth of F's before they threw me out."**

**CARVILLE** grew up in a town so small—how small was it?—"that they had to cancel driver's ed and sex ed at the same time." He pauses for effect. "The mule died."

Carville, Louisiana, James's hometown, got named that because his great-grandparents ran the post office, and the mail kept getting messed up. It used to be called Island, Louisiana, but the mail kept ending

up in the wrong towns, explains James. "so they just said, f--- it, we'll change the name to Carville. Or something like that. You'll have to ask Aunt Girlie or Uncle Lloyd. You're not gonna put I said 'f--- it' in *The Washingtonian*, are ya?"

"Actually, my great-grandmother, Ma Mere—that's what they always called her, Ma Mere—was the postmistress in Carville. But she was also the dentist. Which at the time meant having a strong arm and a good pair of pliers."

We move on to the leper colony.

"Yeah. See, our house was here, right?" He's drawing it on paper. "And my daddy's store was here. And the leper home was here. . . . And I used to be an altar boy. In the chapel at the leperthorium."

Everything but the mule is true.

He was born Chester James Carville Jr. in an Army hospital in Fort Benning,

Georgia, where his father, Chester Sr., was stationed in the war. Though Miss Nippy stayed behind in Carville, she went to Fort Benning long enough to deliver her son. "We were availing ourselves to free government health services," says James. Seven more kids would follow, all of whom still live within a short drive of Miss Nippy.

When James was sent to school, it was on a daily barge across the Mississippi—to be taught by Catholic brothers. On Sundays, he'd serve mass at the leper colony. Chester ran the town's general store and post office, and Miss Nippy reared the kids. On the side, she sold World Book encyclopedias—enough to pay for eight college educations.

James spent a good part of his teenage years being part of Miss Nippy's sales pitch. "We'd drive around until we found a yard that had bicycles and a fishing boat," remembers James. "And then we'd go in and she would talk about these 'educational materials.' And I would sit there, and she'd say, 'And this is my son, and he can name all fifty states because of these encyclopedias he had as a kid.' And the wife would say, 'Well, these look very good, Miz Carville,' and then the husband would walk in and say, 'No, we just can't afford that.' And then my mother would say, 'Well, I see you can afford a bass boat for your own recreation. It seems odd to me that you can't afford \$24 a month for your children's education.' At that point, they were ready to pay cash."

But if he learned how to hustle from his mother, he learned his verbal skills from his dad. Chester Carville, who died of a heart attack in 1978, was the town's resident storyteller. Friends of James's remember gathering at the Carville home on Sundays, when Miss Nippy would put on a pot of crawfish bisque after Sunday mass, and they'd sit around betting on bourée—an old Cajun card game that's a cross between bridge and poker. "There'd always be an ample supply of spirits," remembers Cyril Vetter, a Baton Rouge TV and radio station owner and an old family friend, "and Chester would sit back and tell stories. He spoke like an expert on just about everything. It was just a ball to go down there on Sundays."

Chester also taught his son to be "a good Democrat," though somehow the lesson was lost on the other kids. "A few of my sisters," James confides in a rare whisper, "are actually registered Republicans."

Until James went off to college in '62, on his mother's encyclopedia earnings,

he led a sheltered social life. LSU would change that. After years in a Catholic all-boys school, suddenly "there were girls everywhere," remembers James. "And bars open every night."

To say he went wild "would be sort of a fair assessment of it," says James. "I ended up with fifty-six hours' worth of F's before they finally threw me out."

He chuckles. "I mean, our idea of fun wasn't just to go out and have a couple beers and then go to sleep. We'd drive down to Laredo just about every weekend, which is probably six hundred miles, and party in Mexico." Why Mexico? "Oh, well," says James, "they had some unique attractions down there in the border town." He laughs a little more. "Clayton Williams can go ahead and explain what he did. I'm not gonna get into that."

So he'd just blow off class for a couple days?

"Shit," says James, "I'd blow off class for a semester or two."

Eventually, Miss Nippy got summoned to LSU. The first time they wanted to throw him out, "she went down there and cried me back into school," says James. "But the next time, there was no hope."

"I remember going home to tell my folks I had flunked out. They started cryin' and apologizin', like it was their fault. You know, the reason that I was a bum and didn't go to class and slept through everything and got drunk every night was their fault. It would have been way less torture if they'd have just started screaming at me, throwing something, you know. I said, 'Oh, Lord, let me get outta here.'"

Which is how he ended up in the Marines. "I have always been a cultural Catholic," says James. "I had to have some punishment quick." So, instead of saying three Hail Marys, he enlisted, in 1966. His assignment was on the West Coast, but by 1968 he was lined up in formation to go to Vietnam. "It was February 10, 1968. My discharge date was June 6. And they said anybody that had a discharge date prior to June 10, fall out to the side. And so I fell out. And then they said, 'The government thinks it's too expensive to send you over there for four months."

but if you sign up for another two years you can go.' I said, 'Where's the other line?'"

**CARVILLE WENT** back to Louisiana and to night school, finishing up the LSU degree he started eight years earlier. During the day, he taught junior high school science, "which I knew nothing about. But it was one of those things. There was massive desegregation . . . and they needed white males."

After he got his college degree in 1970, his Uncle Lloyd pulled him aside and offered to send him to law school. Uncle Lloyd had no kids, and felt he should do something for his brother Chester, who had eight. And somehow, says James, "it was just always assumed that I was gonna be a lawyer. You know, 'James, he could talk real good.' I mean, I always had a good line of bullshit."

His friend Cyril Vetter, who went to high school and law school with him, says James was best remembered for the time he stood up to the most feared and revered law professor, sort of LSU's version of John Houseman in *The Paper Chase*. One day, says Vetter, "Professor Pugh asked James a question, ending in some Latin phrase. And James said, 'Hell, I'll tell ya the truth, Mister Pugh. I flunked Spanish two times across the street. I came over here to learn a little law, not a foreign language!'" Vetter says it was the only time the students ever saw Professor Pugh smile.

Carville skated through law school, passed the bar, and got a job in a Baton Rouge firm. But Shelly Beychok, who hired him at the firm, can't think of any cases James worked on. "Basically, he worked on none," says Beychok. "He let a couple files sit on his desk. He pretty much stared out the window most of the time, as if he were in severe agony."

James himself remembers the day he decided to leave law. "I just looked up from my desk one day and said, 'If I had to hire a lawyer, I wouldn't hire me.'"

He was pretty lousy, says Beychok. "But hell! We had a lotta fun. I could tell ya more, but the best things about Carville aren't printable."

**IT TOOK UNTIL** 1986 for James to find his niche. And when he did, it wasn't pretty. His mission was to get three-time loser Bob Casey elected governor of Pennsylvania, instead of the dashing lieutenant governor Bill Scranton, one of *US News & World Report's* "ten rising stars of American politics."

The campaign was ugly from the get-go, with Casey painting Scranton as a spoiled rich kid, Scranton painting Casey as a shady loser. Scranton kept the lead even when reports of his past drug use (something he'd never kept secret) resurfaced. How much of that resurfacing had to do with Carville's planted media tips never got to be an issue, because eventually even the press tired of the drug story.

That's when strange things started to show up on Republican doorsteps in the state's most conservative areas. Some of it was fair, if nasty—like the fliers made up of all the SCRANTON DRUGS headlines. But then a poster appeared of a long-haired hippie with a reefer hanging out of his mouth, and the words: "If my daddy gave me a million bucks, I'd run for office, too." Carville swears up and down that he had nothing to do with the poster, despite his critics' claims that his fingerprints were all over it.

Meanwhile the TV war was escalating—with both sides spending millions attacking and counterattacking. And that's when Bill Scranton took a risk.

Three weeks before the election, Scranton went on television in a 30-second spot, vowing that "win or lose, there will be no more negative advertising from my campaign."

The polls shot up for Scranton and forced the Casey camp to follow down the high road. Then, with ten days to go, Carville found his stick of dynamite. One line in a direct-mail flier sent out by Bill Scranton took a shot at Bob Casey. What was the big deal? That's what Scranton thought. But what Carville managed to do with that one line from a brochure, printed before the no-negative-advertising promise on television, is something even Bill Scranton today says was masterful.

First, Carville made sure the media knew that Scranton had broken his promise. Then when Scranton, caught off guard on the campaign trail, responded first that he didn't know what was in the flier, then admitted it was a mistake, Carville moved to phase two. "I picked up the phone and ordered 600,000 blank envelopes [the number of fliers sent out]," remembers Carville, "then had a truck dump them on the street in front of Scranton's campaign headquarters." He called the press and invited them to a news conference: There was Bob Casey.

standing in front of the pile, saying, "you made a mistake this big, wouldn't you know about it?" Scranton's lead started dropping. Carville says he learned then that "the key to campaigns is to dominate the free press."

Now that Casey was free to get nasty again, Carville pulled a classic October surprise—going on TV the weekend before the election with the infamous guru ad. Carville still defends the spot by saying that "it never mentioned the word drugs." No, it just showed images of a college-age Scranton with a beard and long hair, a picture of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi thrown in for effect, and sitar music clanging in the background. It went on to say that Bill Scranton's "goal was to bring transcendental meditation to state government."

After losing the race by one and a half percentage points, Bill Scranton, the rising young star, got out of politics—and out of Pennsylvania—and now runs a



The night that started it all: When Harris Wofford won, James became the Democrats' savior, the one who sent the message to George Bush.



A month later, James's main squeeze, Mary Matalin, really became one of the boys—with a top job on Bush '92—and the spin control started. But are they or aren't they?

catalogue company in San Francisco.

He chuckles on the telephone at the mention of Carville's name.

"Ah, my friend James Carville. . . . I'm ambivalent about the campaign he ran," Scranton says, "because they indulged in serious excesses that should not be a part of American government. On the other hand, I think he's very skilled." He adds that he's been watching Carville on TV with some degree of amusement. "He's coming off like a statesman."

The guru ad, says Scranton, "was morally unconscionable, maybe the most abominable political ad of all time. But," he adds, "I think Carville knows that he went too far, that it was way beyond the bounds of fair politics. He never crossed that line again."

**THE NIGHT** that Casey won, Carville's staff stood by, a bit taken aback, as James got on the phone to his

mother and bawled his eyes out. "Mommy, we did it! We did it!" they remember him crying. "The half glass of bourbon he poured himself every time a return came in might have had something to do with it," quips one.

What was certain was that the Casey victory made both Casey and Carville winners for the first time. Carville stayed on the streak.

When he pulled himself out of the gutter of the Casey race, he went on to Kentucky, to manage Wallace Wilkinson's long-shot bid for the governorship. Wilkinson started out dead last in a primary with five other candidates, among them the front-runner, former Governor and Kentucky Fried Chicken magnate John Y. Brown, aka Mr. Phyllis George. Jon Macks, who worked on the campaign of yet another contender, says Wilkinson "started with about zero percent, but Carville cut right through the middle to beat us all." He did it, says

Macks, by articulating a message: a lottery instead of taxes. It worked, says Macks, because "John Y. Brown could never articulate a message other than, 'We had good times in the mansion, me and Phyllis.'" Which is just the kind of attitude that tends to inspire Carville.

When he wrapped that up, he got summoned to New Jersey, to work for Frank Lautenberg, who was trying to get re-elected to the US Senate. In a bad year for incumbents, the stiff, aging Lautenberg was up against Pete Dawkins—Heisman trophy winner, Rhodes scholar, and former Army general, who also happened to have a ton of cash.

"There was no way that Lautenberg's story could have matched Dawkins's story," says Charlie Cook, who closely watched the race.

With Dawkins airing his résumé all over the state and shooting way ahead in the polls, Carville had to come up with something fast. He gathered a focus group together and tried an experiment. Dawkins's weak spot, to Carville anyway, was that he didn't really care about New Jersey and had moved there only to win a Senate seat. So James went with his gut—he showed the focus group the video of Dawkins's announcement speech, during which the candidate deadpanned into the camera. "I've moved around a lot. I lived a lot of places. But I have to tell you that throughout all those years, in all of those places, I never found a single place that had as great people, as much promise, as I found right here. In our Garden State."

The focus group reacted just as James had. "They were, like, 'Whoa, what bullshit. This guy's crazy! We'd run over you on the turnpike.' Even the peo-

ple of New Jersey didn't believe it was the garden spot of the universe," chuckles James. So, with only a few weeks to go, Carville put that 21-second clip on the air, followed by one line uttered by someone in the focus group: "C'mon, Pete. Be real."

"How could they call it a negative spot?" asks James. "It was the man's announcement speech, which is kind of like a politician's wedding day."

"It flew in the face of everything they ever teach you in campaign class," says Charlie Cook. "But I've never seen anyone more willing to throw out the textbook than James." Probably because he never read it.

The pundits reacted to the TV spot by saying Lautenberg had lost his mind. The voters reacted differently. With Dawkins slipping fast, Carville ran a follow-up spot, asking, "Why did Pete Dawkins move to New Jersey?" The ad hinted that Dawkins had done research to determine which state he'd have the best chance to win in. One of James's barometers is: How is this gonna play at the supper table? And at supper tables in New Jersey, the voters got mad.

Dawkins slithered out of New Jersey after the race. He was recently found working at an insurance company in Marietta, Georgia, but declined to return calls about James Carville.

**WHAT HAPPENED** to Carville next is the thing he fails to mention on his résumé—the loss in the Carville streak. He was hired for the Houston mayor's race in 1989 against Kathy Whitmire. His candidate was Fred Hofheinz, whose daddy, Roy, a powerful Houston pol, had built the Astrodome. Hardly your typical Carville client.

Fred pulled down barely a quarter of the vote. "The truth is, Fred had some problems. He just wasn't a good candidate," says one of Carville's colleagues, "and James is too classy to admit it." Actually, the word in Houston was that Hofheinz could never live down a rumor that had him in a dress in a gay bar in Texas. When Carville's team did a phone poll, at least one out of three voters said they had heard the rumor. Carville figured, "Why tell the other two-thirds?" and decided not to address it head-on in the campaign. Today he says that was probably a mistake.

After the loss, James headed to Georgia to work for Zell Miller in the race political insiders say was Carville's most underrated victory.

Miller was a long-time pol—his nickname was Zig Zag Zell—and he was up against Andy Young in a year when voters, based on their records, were fed up with old boys like Miller. That the race

was an old-fashioned slugfest, with no last-minute shockers, is one reason it doesn't get mentioned much by the press. But it proved another thing about Carville—that he could play by the rules and win.

His name finally got national attention in a piece in the *Wall Street Journal* called "New Breed of Political Consultants Threatens to Give Negative Campaigning a Bad Name."

He also had fine-tuned his personal style by then, described by his co-workers as "raving lunacy." The line is that "James is so tightly wound during a race that you couldn't pull a needle out of his ass with a tractor." He's prone to throwing fits in the office, and he comes unglued in the final week—even if he's winning.

During the Wofford race, the fact that everything was going right made him more crazy. Says one Wofford staffer, "He kept banging on desks and screaming, 'Tell me there's something wrong! Something has to be going wrong!'"

"James is an extremely intelligent, extremely creative, and extremely insane human being," adds one of his colleagues. "If not for this business, he'd be in a rubber room somewhere."

During the Lautenberg campaign, he was known "to lie on the couch in the fetal position wearing brown gardening gloves. No one knows why," muses one aide. In the Wofford race he didn't change his underwear for ten days. "Oh, that," says James. In a previous race, he was eating an omelet when the polls started favoring his candidate. He ate nothing but omelets for the rest of the campaign. This time, the moment the numbers got good for Wofford, James looked in his pants and vowed to his staff, "I ain't changin' my underwear!" "But I washed them every night," he notes.

**BY THE TIME** he arrived for Wofford duty, he'd amassed a fan club of followers. Working for Carville is one of the more sought-after jobs in politics today. Those who make the club refer to themselves as "Carvillians"—and are prone to quote his better one-liners all around town, as though it were part of the training. "He called me a

cross between a hemorrhoid and a toothache," bridged one of the Carvillians at a Wofford victory party.

Those whom Carville rewards with staff positions are those who are most like him, not that there are many. He has no patience for what he calls "Kennedy School of Government types," who think "that just because they have some

fancy degree they can do the polling questionnaire. I have no sympathy for a twenty-four-year-old who thinks he should be the 'media director' just because he went to Yale and took a course called 'Campaign Management.' I was thirty-seven years old and *delighted* to put up signs." Insiders say one of the reasons Carville chose Bill Clinton over Bob Kerrey wasn't Kerrey, who he liked, but the people he was surrounded by—"too KSG [Kennedy School of Government]."

He also has little patience for people who knock what he does. "This is an honorable and decent way to make a living!" he angrily shouted to a class in campaign management at George Washington University. "Don't ever let those editorialists and op-ed writers"—he's spitting out the words—"those roving bands of herbal-tea drinkers and public-radio types . . . with their 10,000-page position papers . . . look down their noses at you or tell you that you're part of the problem." His nostrils are flaring.

"It wasn't the political consultants that lied to the people in Watergate! It wasn't the political consultants who started the S&L crisis! When you go down there to Gucci Gulch, where they protect all the tax breaks, you don't see political consultants, do you?"

He once wrote a letter—that never ran—to the *Washington Post*, after the paper printed an op-ed piece by "a public affairs and policy counselor" who said the country was ripe for a presidential candidate who'd run on a "Kill the consultants" platform. After Carville did some research on the author—with the same voracity as he investigates opponents—he fired off a letter that said, "In your next poll, ask the following question: If you had a gun with only one bullet, who would you shoot? A political consultant or a

**"This is an honorable way to make a living," James tells students. "And don't ever let those roving bands of herbal-tea drinkers tell you it's not."**

lobbyist for toxic-waste dumpers and insurance companies?"

**IT'S BEEN SAID** that one of Carville's biggest challenges with Harris Wofford was that Harris was "too cerebral" for his own good. It was up to James to shake him up. Staffers say he did that by taking Wofford on long walks, pumping him up until a candidate emerged. The cynics say he did such a good job that when Wofford spoke, they thought Carville was throwing his voice. Dick Thornburgh told the *Wall Street Journal* that Wofford was Carville's "disciple" and that he'd "sold his soul" to his strategist. James himself says it was just a matter of finding the passion in the guy.

"I'll admit I was nervous about Harris at first," Carville told the *Philadelphia Daily News*. "Sixty-six years old? Never been in a campaign? College egg-head? Whoa!"

On the night of Wofford's big debate with Thornburgh, Carville sensed that Harris needed to "get a little more excited" for television. So just as they were going on the air, he told Wofford that his pregnant daughter, an English professor at Yale, had just delivered her baby. "Harris, you're a granddaddy!" James told him. Then he pushed him out onto the stage, where Wofford proceeded to "kick Thornburgh's ass," as James puts it; the debate was considered Wofford's turning point. When it was over, Harris ran to the phone, only to be collared by Carville. "I kinda made that up," said James.

**AFTER THE** election, Wofford found his passion by quoting James Carville. When he spoke to the National Press Club in Washington, shortly after he'd been canonized for winning, one of the best lines he delivered was one he attributed to James: that "running on a pro-corridors-of-power platform in the Nineties," as Dick Thornburgh had, "was like running on the pro-leprosy ticket in the time of Christ."

The line had become part of Carville's schtick. But his main harangue was that, for the Democrats to win like Wofford in 1992, they had to "flush out" their own special-interest groups marching around Washington—the abortion camp, the gun-control camp, the death-penalty camp—and stick to the populist concerns of the middle class.

As he put it to the kids at GW: "Jesse Helms will have an amendment, and everybody in the party will go crazy about whether or not you can have public funding for an abortion in DC in a

case of rape and incest. They will argue that for days. Interest groups will be everywhere. And the truth of the matter is, it's an important fundamental problem. But when the average American stays up late at night worrying about something, they're not worrying about how to pay for an abortion, they're worrying about how to pay for their kid's education. But yet they see Washington spending more time on this so-called social issue."

And Carville is pro-choice, though he doesn't want his mother to know.

If there's one thing that describes Carville's own political philosophy—which he insists isn't relevant—it's his other obsession: Andy Griffith. It's no coincidence that Andy is perhaps the purest, corniest, hokiest relic of the American middle class, of common-sense values, of an era frozen in reruns, except to James Carville. He will watch an episode for the fortieth or fiftieth time and still find some deep meaning, still laugh at all the jokes.

"Andy speaks to James," explains his friend Jon Macks. And what he says to him, says Macks, "is that most of America isn't on K Street, but in K mart."

**JAMES SAYS** there are only two conditions under which he'd ever work for a Republican: "If you're my roommate for four and a half years or if you run against David Duke." Doug Moreau was his roommate in law school and after, so in 1990 Carville took a quick trip to Baton Rouge to make sure he became the DA.

From there, he had another puddle to mop up in Pennsylvania, before he could sign on with Wofford. He had to make sure Bob Casey—whose family portrait (eight kids, too) he keeps by the Murphy bed—got re-elected governor by the largest landslide in Pennsylvania history. Barbara Hafer, the beleaguered pro-choice Republican opponent, says that running against Carville is like dodging Scud missiles—you never know where the next one's going to come from or where it's going to hit. "They have rumor mills down to a science, they are masters at depressing the vote. And he doesn't just aim to defeat the candidate," says Hafer. "He aims to destroy and kill you for the long term."

"To me, he represents the worst in politics," says Hafer, who's the state's auditor general. "It's all smoke and mirrors. This isn't what public service is supposed to be about. But if there's one thing nice you can say about the guy, it's that he's loyal."

One of the criticisms of James is that

he tends to fall in love with his candidates—unusual among most hired guns. But what drives him is not money, even though he earns more now than he ever dreamed possible. He says his firm will be making about \$25,000 a month with Clinton (\$2,500 a month more than with Wofford), and he'll be doing additional work for people he previously committed to, including New Jersey Governor James Florio, Senator John Glenn, and some other Ohio Democrats. He also remains on the payrolls of Zell Miller, Bob Casey, and Harris Wofford.

But this is a guy who didn't own a television set until 1989, and whose best investment is his mother's cookbook. He is said to have turned down double what he has earned in the past few years in potential lobbying fees, partner fees, and offers to arrange meetings.

Shortly after the Wofford race, James used his sudden celebrity to volunteer for Edwin Edwards in the battle against David Duke, explaining that he had "a momma, seven brothers and sisters, and twenty nieces and nephews in Louisiana." He jetted down gratis and met with the staff.

Though his trip was widely publicized, James says "it didn't make a difference in two votes. If I had gone to London instead that week, Edwards still would have won. But there are certain things you just have to do."

**"WHADDAYA** lookin' at?" says James.

It's an hour after James has made his appearance on *Good Morning America*, and he's just changed into his favorite Converse sneakers—the ones with "LSU" written in ink on the toes.

He writes on his sneakers?

"So?" says James, in a tone that implies: Doesn't every 47-year-old?

He is heading off for breakfast at his favorite neighborhood joint, Jimmy T's—the kind of place where the waitresses toss your coffee over the counter in plastic holders with plastic cups inside, the kind of place where nobody gets treated special. Carville's kind of joint.

But today on the way in he is assaulted by a young woman who saw him on *Good Morning America*. "It's Mister Carville!" she yells, vaulting from the table and grabbing his hand to shake it. She proceeds to do twenty minutes about how wonderful he was on TV and how she's working for a candidate who's running for Congress in Florida—"There she is right in the corner! Stand up, it's Mr. Carville! Mr. Carville, she's your kind of person"—and could he please give them some advice?

Even Jimmy T's isn't safe anymore. □

# "Listen to the People"

## Consulting Sensation James Carville Outlines His Blueprint for Victory and Skewers Elitism in the Press and Party Structure

**R**eporting in the aftermath of the 1987 governor's race, David Beiler called James Carville "a one-man wrecking crew. A self-described 'cowboy,' he snugly fits the bill of a political Clint Eastwood. He rides in alone, blows away the bad guys, then rides out again—for a fee. The townspeople are usually grateful, if warily."

Since that time, the legend has grown. With the stunning victory this year of the "unknown appointee," Sen. Harris Wofford (D-PA), it has reached mythic proportions. Wofford started 44 points down in the polls to popular ex-Gov. Dick Thornburgh, yet triumphed by ten only three months later. Democratic leaders are pointing to the crusading populist tone of that campaign as a blueprint for electoral success in the tough economic climate of 1992.

Credit for the honing of that message to a precise, deadly edge goes to Paul Begala, a speechwriter extraordinaire who teamed with Carville before the 1990 elections.

We found Carville lounging in the basement of his office-home on Capitol Hill and tried to tap into his perfect political pitch.

**CAMPAIGN:** Every would-be pundit seems to have their own theory as to the secret behind the massive Wofford surge to victory. You and Paul are cited as the engineers of that astounding success story. What's your explanation?

**CARVILLE:** The first quality of any good candidate is to have a good message. He has to have something to say, as simple as that sounds....The real lesson to be learned from the Wofford campaign is: if you are going to be a first-time candidate, it will help if you are a substantial person prior to getting into politics. The qualities and depth of the life he led before [his appointment to the Senate] was a real plus for us in terms of passing the basic thresholds of the press. And once we got to the voters to tell our story, there was something behind the message. I think there will be a lot of people in 1992 who will misinterpret this "time for a change, anti-incumbent" wave and think they can run for office without the type of background that can let someone be effective and carry out the changes they promised.

**CAMPAIGN:** Without slighting your great achievement with Wofford, it could be pointed out that you were running against Dick Thornburgh, the ultimate insider in the ultimate outsider year. Kirk Fordice scored a similar success in Mississippi, getting elected that state's first GOP governor since Reconstruction with a straight-talking populist campaign that might have been scripted by your evil Republican twin. Let's say Fordice had run against Wofford, portraying that resume of his as a blueprint for the prototypical pointy-headed liberal elitist. Would you have had more trouble?

**CARVILLE:** It wouldn't have been that easy for Fordice either. Wofford supported the death penalty; he supported Pennsylvania's [strict] abortion control law. But because he was active in civil rights, was educated at Yale and had been president of Bryn Mawr, perhaps he could have been tagged as a pointy-headed liberal by someone like that. But Fordice ran against an incumbent governor [Ray Mabus (D)] who had fallen short



of his promises. He had the advantage of running against the established authority figure in disappointing times. I wasn't in Mississippi. I'm not familiar with that campaign or with how much of the vote was an reflection of support for Fordice or opposition to Mabus. If you remember, Thornburgh started our race with 67 points in the polls; I think his favorability was over 70. In the end, there was a lot higher percentage of pro-Wofford voters in Pennsylvania than pro-Fordice voters in Mississippi.

**CAMPAIGN:** *What are the most common, crucial mistakes made by Democratic candidates seeking federal office?*

**CARVILLE:** They allow themselves to be defined more from cultural issues—which tend to work against our party—than economic issues, which tend to work for us. They tend to listen to the elites in the party who want them to run campaigns in a way that satisfies [the elite's] own interests and egos, as opposed to listening to and addressing the voters' interests and concerns.

**CAMPAIGN:** *What's the best avenue of attack against a generic Republican candidate for federal office?*

**CARVILLE:** Going into 1992 they had a choice to favor middle class working Americans or the top 1 or 2 percent of taxpayers. Not only did they make the choice to favor the very wealthy in this country, they chose to do it at the expense of the middle class. They instituted a new tax package where 71 percent of the benefits would have gone to the very wealthy. The process of helping those folks is very addictive. As a party, the Republicans are incapable of fighting for economic policies which benefit the broad spectrum of America. That's what I'd run against them.

**CAMPAIGN:** *It has been suggested that the keys to your talent as a strategist are some of the same characteristics that made Lee Atwater such an effective campaigner; that you don't seem at all absorbed in the Washington power scene; that you still think like the guys down at the corner bar in Bartlesville. Is that fair?*

**CARVILLE:** I have a brilliant partner [Paul Begala] who is probably as good a person as anybody in politics to bounce something off of. Being engaged in that type of dialogue can go a long way. The second thing that helps make me successful is I've had an opportunity to work with an awesome group of candidates—people who are really committed to winning, people who lined up against the odds and fought for what they wanted to accomplish.

Thirdly, its the ability to...think like [most voters] think and to try and understand what's

The real problem with our trade policy is just knee-jerk, reflexive, non-thinking attitudes by the so-called intelligencia of elites in this country.

going through their minds. By this time, I also have acquired some helpful experience. I've done this before. I've probably managed six or seven statewide races now, which I understand is more than anybody in this party and maybe more than anybody in the other party.

As to comparisons with Atwater, I understand the need for symbols, for shorthand; we have to use it in campaigns and the press needs it too. But I do think there is an element of anti-southern bias in that linkage. I think if Atwater, who I only met one time, had been something other than a southern male, people would be reluctant to make the comparison. If being "the Atwater of the Democratic Party" means running tough, successful campaigns you're not suppose to win—like he did in 1988—then the comparison doesn't bother me. But the press tends to lump southern males into a set pattern of behavior: be fiery, do anything to win, take no prisoners. If we had been two Hispanic guys, or Jewish, or Italian, there would be much more of a reluctance to lump us together.

**CAMPAIGN:** *There does seem to be a similarity, however. You both seem to have understood that a democratic system must be confrontational to work. That the people expect their leaders and prospective leaders to be held accountable. The Washington elite acts as if being an agent of that process is beneath them. They don't understand the thought processes of most voters. That's why they can't generate the great successes at the polls you and Atwater have generated.*

**CARVILLE:** The conventional wisdom thinkers of Washington, are very seldom right. There are certain concepts that the Washington establishment embraces that are just asinine. For instance, an absolute article of faith among established political observers and journalists here is that there is some connection between declining voter turnout and negative campaigns. It's repeatedly been proven otherwise, yet Washington is incapable of thinking in any other way....There is also an absolute dogma of faith in Washington that to talk at all to middle class concerns equates to "pandering." It's silly. One thing that we've learned: if they say something here, it's a pretty good indication that we should go out and do exactly the opposite thing....

There is a clique of journalists in this town that there is something wrong with being a political consultant, that somehow or another this is not a proper way to making a living. Frankly, they're full of crap! They equate us with mercenaries, saying we go into a state to be paid, that we have nothing at stake, do nothing but try to win and then leave. They would prefer to have campaigns run like they used to be, when the manager went on to the public payroll or became a lobbyist.

There are even lobbyists in this town that say the problem with America is political consultants. That has to be the most hypocritical thing that anybody can say. I'd like to take a poll and ask "who do you think has caused the American public more problems, political consultants or lobbyists?" It wasn't political consultants who passed the legislation which helped the S&L's to cost the tax payers a b'zillion dollars.

I don't think that newspapers that are subsidized by whiskey ads, cigarette ads, who publish idle gossip, should go around telling other people that their profession corrupts society. I don't feel that I earn a superior living to a columnist or political reporter for the *Washington Post* the way they look down on people in this profession. This is a very honorable way to earn a living—working hard, fighting for your candidates and trying to win when you can.

**CAMPAIGN:** *With the collapse of the communist menace, polls now show the voters regard Japan as the greatest foreign threat to America's well-being. Japanese industry, in concert with their government, is systematically gaining control of our strategic markets. They have used money and economic pressure to stifle opposition to their designs. Is that why Democratic candidates have largely ignored economic nationalism when it could be the most potent weapon in their electoral arsenal?*

**CARVILLE:** The press elites in this country believe in appeasement when it comes to trade. I never understood why they have never been upset about the Europeans running 25 percent ahead of us. Not one time have I ever seen an elite columnist say why can't we sell Louisiana rice in Japan or Texas wheat in Europe. I think that these people have been so conditioned to the free-trade mantra that no discussion of trade restrictions gets as much as a reasonable thought. I've read articles about how pervasive Japanese influence is, but I haven't seen that so much on the campaigns I've worked in. Everybody's for free trade—free trade both ways. The real problem with our trade policy is just knee-jerk, reflexive, non-thinking attitudes by the so-called intelligencia of elites in this country. Maybe it's a result of people being scared of declining ad revenues; maybe it's just the continual conditioning in the same salons.

**CAMPAIGN:** *Racial preferences seems to let pet peeve of the swing segment of the New Deal coalition that has been abandoning the Democratic Party of late. Is it a mistake for a Democratic candidate to back a color-blind policy, basing assistance purely on economic need?*

**CARVILLE:** This isn't a pluralistic society; let's face it, discrimination does exist here. How to best protect it is obviously a legitimate public policy argument. The Republicans have tried to cynically manipulate this issue then switch their position. George Bush had four different positions on civil rights in a month. There are a lot of people in this country who understand that there has been a great deal of past discrimination and wrongdoing along racial lines. While they might be fearful of so-called "quotas," most are willing

to have the government step in and take measures to ensure against discrimination. That is what the civil rights bill did. Our party is right when it honors its commitment to civil rights. I think it is also appreciated that the bill also prevented reverse discrimination. I'm not a legal expert, but I believe that when a candidate gets up and says some of the things that David Duke does, that is widely read as a way of saying you're in favor of white supremacy....Blacks might be reliable democratic voters today, but that is no reason to take them for granted.

I think there is a bigger commitment to civil liberties in this country than you suggest. Obviously, the death penalty is a settled issue in American politics. But most people think this court has gone too far right in a lot of other ways, and I would not be concerned about a Republican

back on Democrats on civil liberties. I think you're taking some of these things too far, to the extreme.

**CAMPAIGN:** *Could a call for a more steeply graduated income tax be a winning issue for Democrats?*

**CARVILLE:** A lot of people think the wealthy don't believe there is a graduated tax. They think that they pay more than the wealthy do, with all their loopholes. Of course, it's an enormously popular thing to say let's raise the tax on the wealthy and give the middle class a tax cut. An effective graduated tax would be popular, but I'd probably call it something else. I'd call it "loophole elimination" that will make people pay their fair share. Most people think the rich don't pay enough and they pay too much, clearly.

**CAMPAIGN:** *You've signed on with Gov. Clinton for your first presidential campaign. How do you see that race unfolding?*

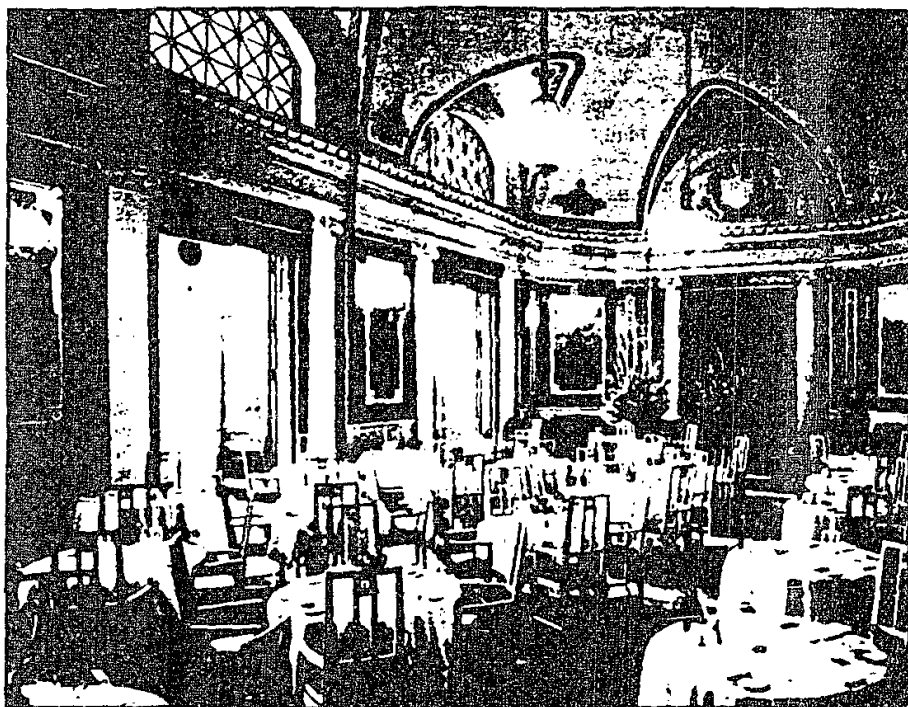
**CARVILLE:** We're doing well in this initial early phase, but that could be very short-lived. The strongest thing about this campaign is obviously the candidate. The thing that drew me to him is that he doesn't take himself too seriously, but he takes what he's about seriously. I like him as a person; he's got a solid sense of humor and I think he's given a lot of thought to why he wants to be President. I guess if he has a political consultant, he's probably thought too much about it.

**CAMPAIGN:** *How are you going to handle the charge that he is a Republican in overalls when it comes to economics?*

**CARVILLE:** He's pretty far away from the Republicans on economics. He's backed national health insurance. He's highly critical of Republican economic policies.

**CAMPAIGN:** *How is campaign politics going to change in the near future?*

**CARVILLE:** Unless we get a president who can really inspire people, we're going to see an increased sense of alienation between people and government. On the technical side of campaigns, telephone polls that we are doing today are going to be increasingly difficult to do, largely because of that alienation. A candidate with a strong message, a strong sense of what he wants to do in the job that he or she is aspiring to is going to have an absolute advantage. The profession of political consulting is going to continue to attract good people, and the social critics attacking it are going to look increasingly silly, if it's possible to get any sillier than they are now. ♦



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Croatia (especially not from Croatia), though it no longer dresses up in peasant costumes. But it has become intertwined with a desire to identify with the West which is almost internationalist in its implications. Ask any Croat politician why Croatia needs to be independent, and he will start talking about the great historical dividing-line which runs between Croatia and Serbia: Western culture, Catholic Christianity, and to use a favorite Croat adjective, "civilizational" values on the one side, and Ottomanized society, the Orthodox Church, despotism, and Communism on the other. As a piece of historical analysis this is grotesquely over-simple, and there is something morally repugnant about the way it dooms all liberal, Western-looking, anti-Communist Serbs to a historically predetermined failure. But as a device to unite Croatia's two strands of nationalism—ethnic anti-Serbian hostility, and the desire for a modern, Western economy and society—it is highly successful.

As the death toll rises, the older form of nationalism, with its hatreds, its historical certainties, and its ethnic absolutes, is likely to predominate, because it carries the greater emotional charge. There is a common view in the West that these ancient animosities have been the real problem all along, and that any talk by Croat and Slovene politicians about democracy and market economies has been just a smokescreen. The implication of this line of thinking is that things were better under Communism, because at least the Communist system kept nationalism under control: Yugoslavia's present crisis, therefore, is an inevitable consequence of the removal of Communism.

This argument is deeply unconvincing. It would be far truer to say that it is the failure to remove Communism completely from Yugoslavia that has caused the present crisis. With its comparative openness and freedom of travel to the West, Yugoslavia could and should have been the first country in Eastern Europe to dismantle Communism. When mass demonstrations in Montenegro (which is ethnically Serbian) and the Vojvodina (which is ruled by Serbia) forced the local Party bosses out of office in 1988, many of the demonstrators thought they were bringing about far-reaching reforms of the corrupt Communist sys-

tem. But instead their concerns were hijacked by one faction in the Serbian Communist Party, led by Slobodan Milosevic (now the Serbian president), who realized that Communism was losing its legitimacy and turned to Serbian nationalism as a way of preserving and extending his power. It is this lopsided survival of the Communist political tradition, with its artificial stimulation of Serbian nationalism for its own internal purposes, that has set the present series of nationalist conflicts in motion.

In the realm of pure theory, one can still talk about how to construct a modern, peaceful, democratic federal Yugoslavia. In practice it is too late. Too many things would need to be changed now to make that possible. The present federal system has been shown up as ineffectual, manipulated or bypassed by the old power structures of the Serbian political establishment (which has undermined the federal economic reforms of the last two years) and the army (which now seems out of control). It is possible to be anti-Communist without being anti-federal, or anti-federal without being anti-Serb; but after the events of the last few days, the vast majority of

Croats and Slovenes are implacably anti all three.

They continue, however, to be pro-Western, bewildered though they are by the attempts of Western governments to lecture them on the benefits of remaining in a federation which they now find abhorrent. The idea that forcing these two countries back into a federal political system would actually increase the "stability" of the area belongs to the realm of superstition, not to rational politics. The only way to recover anything resembling stability now is for the West to recognize Croatia and Slovenia as quickly as possible, and to encourage them to complete on generous terms the unfinished negotiations over their exit from Yugoslavia. The European Community and the United States still have an enormous moral authority over the Slovenes and Croats, who desperately wish to think of themselves as fully Western. But if we continue to reject their claims to independence, we shall only weaken the Westward-looking aspect of their nationalism, thereby helping to turn them into the very kind of resentful, vendetta-obsessed isolationists that Western policy-makers should most fear. □

## The Democrats' Lee Atwater

WILLIAM MCGURN

WASHINGTON, D.C.  
IN 1988 the Republican Party felt that its best shot at a Democratic Senate seat was in New Jersey, where a lackluster Senator Frank Lautenberg was up for re-election. Against him the GOP fielded the Perfect Résumé: former West Point cadet and brigadier general Pete Dawkins, Heisman Trophy winner, Rhodes Scholar, Wall Street wizard, and all-American boy. In his opening television ad, Dawkins avoided the issues and tried to capitalize on his wholesome image by appearing in a sports jacket and saying how much he loved New Jersey. Enter James Carville, a down-and-dirty Louisiana-born lawyer turned Democratic consultant. Carville picked up 21 seconds of Dawkins gushing about Jersey and put it in a

Lautenberg commercial followed by the kicker: "Come on, Pete, be real." As Carville told the *Wall Street Journal*, "We took a poll afterwards and [Dawkins] was gone. I mean, you could stick a fork through him and he was done."

Not for nothing has Carville earned the nickname "the Ragin' Cajun." A former altar boy in a leper colony back in his hometown of Carville, Louisiana ("it was named after my grandfather, the local postmaster, but I used to tell girls we were plantation barons"), he specializes in a bare-knuckle game that takes so-so politicians like Lautenberg and turns them into real candidates. Carville has installed Democrats in the governor's mansion in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Georgia, and turned nobodies into contenders in Texas—leaving a trail of scorched opponents in his wake.

In so doing he has earned some no-

Mr. McGurn is NR's Washington bureau chief.

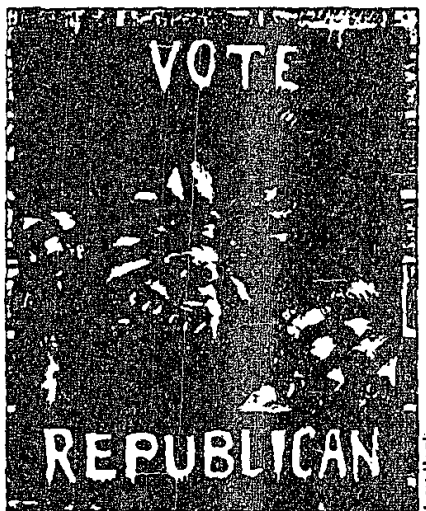
toriety. *Campaigns and Elections* magazine has taken note, and Carville was all set to win the Campaign Manager of the Year award from the American Association of Political Consultants last year until a squabble over whether to name the award after Lee Atwater led it to issue no award at all. Ken Bode of DePauw University's Center for Contemporary Media says that "Carville is to politics what Hunter Thompson is to journalism," yet while Lee Atwater's antics made him a household word, the 46-year-old James Carville remains unknown outside the small circle of political groupies, many of whom have learned about him only since he started dating Mary Matalin, the Republican National Committee's chief of staff.

Given existing biases this probably won't change, even though Carville has just been signed up to run the election campaign of Senator Harris Wofford, the genteel Pennsylvania Democrat named by Governor Bob Casey to replace Republican Senator John Heinz, who was killed in a plane crash in April. An old-line liberal activist and former college president who helped found the Peace Corps, Wofford was crusading on civil rights before Martin Luther King heard the term; indeed, he is credited with getting presidential candidate John F. Kennedy to call Coretta King when her husband was sweating it out in a Georgia pokey for leading a demonstration. That a man like Wofford would hire a man like Carville reveals a lot about Beltway mores these days: first, that whatever else they may be, the Democrats are serious about winning; second, that when it comes to "negative campaigning," only Republicans come under national scrutiny for their actions.

"I think he's tough, I think he's aggressive, I think he will do anything to win, and I don't say that in a derogatory fashion," says Ed Rollins, former head of the National Republican Campaign Committee. "But there's no question that he benefits from a double standard where it's always okay for the other side to do it."

Carville has managed to escape attention partly because he avoids the limelight; he emphasizes fundamentals like opposition research, and you don't see him on TV the way you see high-powered GOP consultants. But partly it's because Republican hard-

ball is reported differently from Democratic hardball. Lee Atwater's "jumper cables" remark about a candidate who had undergone shock therapy aroused an indignation that the girl-and-daisy-and-mushroom-cloud commercial used against Barry Goldwater never did. *The New Republic* has done a cover story on GOP consultant Roger Stone ("State of the Art Sleazeball"). Roger Ailes was compared to Darth Vader on *Larry King Live*. And while everyone in creation knows what Atwater did with Willie Horton, how many people outside Pennsylvania know about Carville's attacks on William Scranton as a pothead? How many outside Texas know about his attack on Ann Richards during the primary campaign, implying she had the endorse-



ment of death-row inmates? And how many outside Kentucky know that Carville leaked the story that Republican contender John Harper's son had been shot dead in a burglary ten years earlier—this in the last days of a campaign, when Carville's candidate was 33 points ahead?

Carville does not cover himself with the usual pieties. When asked if there is anything he has regretted doing in a campaign, he talks about tactical mistakes in races he lost. He defends himself in the Harper case by saying that he mentioned the dead son only because the Republicans were talking about his candidate's brother-in-law. He pokes fun at the turned-up noses in the editorial columns of America's prestige press: after reading a *Washington Post* op-ed by a political lobbyist identified as a "public-affairs and public-policy counselor," for example, Carville wrote a letter to the edi-

tor at the end of which he identified himself as a "facilitator of democracy." And he forsakes the usual Democratic moaning about Lee Atwater, whom he talks about in the same tone of voice that Patton might have used to discuss Rommel.

"In a democracy, politics is appropriately confrontational," he says. "You should be able to draw distinctions between opponents. And if a candidate is not able to answer a charge, that says something about the candidate."

Not all of Carville's campaigns have panned out. In 1984 in Texas, Carville managed the campaign of then-State Senator Lloyd Doggett against newly minted Republican Phil Gramm in a race for the U.S. Senate, and Carville admits that after blasting Gramm for everything under the sun, he got his "butt kicked" when Gramm responded in kind. He also notes that a remark he made at the time—that "the whole tide of history has shown that if you lie loud enough and long enough, no matter how ludicrous the lie is, people will believe it"—often quoted by Republicans today as a Goebbels-like statement, was pulled out of context: he said it, as the original UPI story makes clear, in response to a Gramm charge about Doggett advancing the cause of gay rights.

In Kentucky in 1990 Carville made a similarly unbuttoned remark when a *Louisville Courier Journal* reporter asked him about the legislature's plan to push a sales tax instead of Governor Wilkinson's own tax plan. He responded by saying he couldn't believe "those dumb — walked into that thing." Although the remark caused such a storm that Carville had to leave town (a Democratic legislator likened him to Rasputin in a floor speech), the circumstances justify the substance of the charge if not excusing the language. If Republicans learned from Democrats like Carville instead of whining about him, they'd have their majority.

Of course, they'd have a better chance were the press not so selectively hostile. Were a Republican senator like Charles Grassley or Richard Lugar to hire a Roger Ailes, that would become a national story. Maybe Wofford's campaign will be a big story, but only because his opponent will be Attorney General Richard Thornburgh—not because a patrician liberal has brought in a good ol' boy to do the

fighting. With Wofford way down in the polls, Ed Rollins says Thornburgh's people should expect Carville to "try and strip the bark off him."

Whether he wins or not, Carville will make it one tough campaign. And we'll find out whether the *Washington Post* thinks that's a story in itself. □

Rhineland-Palatinate—is Kohl's home state and had been ruled by the Christian Democratic Union uninterruptedly since the war. And yet the Social Democrats trounced the Christian Democrats there, as they did also in two states (Hamburg and Hesse) where they already held power. The numbers in Rhineland-Palatinate were almost directly reversed from the numbers in the 1987 elections: the Social Democrats went from 38.8 to 44.8 per cent of the vote, and the Christian Democrats dropped from 45.1 per cent to 38.7 per cent.

The Christian Democrats' immediate problem, as the media diagnosed it, was popular anger with Kohl, who had promised that he would not raise taxes to finance the rebuilding of East Germany, and then reneged on that promise after his advisors took stock of the incredible depredations caused by socialism and realized that the entire infrastructure of the former GDR would have to be replaced or renewed. Kohl indeed promised the people something that he must have known (though so should they) that he could not stick to. But this is only a symptom of a larger problem.

The Left—in Germany as elsewhere—has a great strength: it has a "language" of its own: not just an enticing vocabulary but also a fairly coherent *Weltanschauung* with a specific direction. It is precisely here that the Christian Democratic parties are weakest: they invoke Christian values but are afraid to represent them in an uncompromising spirit. They lack character; they have no definite profile, and they also try to gain votes from "moderate," uncommitted elements. This is natural, since all parties have only one real aim: to gain votes. And yet it is dangerous in a party professing to be the political representative of a church.

Christian parties have an important role to play, yet they are not a boon to the churches. The misdeeds, corruptions, errors, and miscalculations of these parties are always laid at the door of the church with which they are connected. This is what Pope Leo XIII had in mind when, in the encyclical *Graves de Communi*, he expressly forbade the use of the term "Christian democracy" in partisan politics. Political parties come and go, but the churches remain and have to take the blame for "their" parties. □

## Christian Parties: An Oxymoron?

ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN



Chang Park

lands, for example, there were three denominational parties—a Catholic one (which, as a rule, commanded one-third of all votes) and two Calvinist ones, the Anti-Revolutionaries and the Christian Historics. (All three have since changed their labels and their composition.)

In Evangelical northern Europe, Christian parties were slower to develop than in the Catholic nations, where there was a real tradition of "anti-clericalism," and where behind the anti-clerical label there always lurked an anti-Christian sentiment. In the lands of the Reformation anti-clericalism did not exist, and thus there was not the same need to mobilize against anti-Christian forces and in defense of Christian values.

In Germany, the eventual impetus to do so came from the Brown tyranny, which Catholics and Lutherans jointly resisted. The old Center Party from pre-Nazi days evolved into the post-war Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union, the latter operating in Bavaria and the former in the rest of Germany. These two parties (which are separate but collaborate closely) played a crucial role in the rise of West Germany after the collapse of the Third Reich, and it was their leadership and Konrad Adenauer's foresight and vision that prevented a neutralized Germany of a socialist character from developing. The collapse of the German Democratic Republic was a posthumous triumph for Konrad Adenauer, none of whose epigones achieved his stature—including Helmut Kohl.

Yet how did this year's elections go so wrong for Kohl? He is, after all, the "Chancellor of Reunification"—the man who finally achieved what neither Adenauer nor Willy Brandt, with his *Ostpolitik*, could achieve—and he won a stunning mandate in last December's national election. Furthermore, one of the regions holding elections this spring—the *Land* (state) of

MUNICH  
**T**HE defeat of Germany's Christian Democratic party in regional elections this year—following the resounding defeat of the Austrian People's Party last year—should be a signal to all Christian parties in Europe that it is time to rethink their positions and reformulate their programs. Intelligent churchmen on the Continent always knew that the existence of Christian political parties was but a necessary evil; in their hearts many of them envied their brethren in the English-speaking countries, which do not have such parties.

"Christian democracy" arose out of a particular historical circumstance. When the French Revolutionists revived democracy after an interval of more than two thousand years, their parliament took on the anti-Christian, First Enlightenment character of its sponsors. Anti-clerical parties soon arose, and the faithful felt obliged to organize in turn. As democracy spread, so did Christian political parties. At first, most of these parties were Catholic, though in the Nether-

Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn, an NR Contributor, is the author of *Leftism Revisited*.

# The Miracle Worker?

*Spin doctor James Carville thought he'd hooked up with the best boss on the track, but now he's scrambling to salvage Bill Clinton's hobbled candidacy*

*By Joshua Hammer*

JAMES CARVILLE STROLLS THROUGH THE COLON-naded lobby of the Essex House hotel in Manhattan one morning in early February, looking beat-up and uncharacteristically somber after a week in political hell. "I told the governor 'I earned my paycheck last week for the first time in this campaign,'" drawls Bill Clinton's chief campaign consultant, sitting down to breakfast.

Only ten days earlier, on January 23, the panicky call came from Clinton's deputy campaign manager, George Stephanopoulos, to Carville's basement home-office in Washington, D.C., a hole-in-the-wall known as the Bat Cave. "It's an emergency," Stephanopoulos said. "We need to talk." He told Carville that in twenty-four hours, the *Star* would publish Gennifer Flowers's allegations of a twelve-year affair with Clinton, along with transcripts of their phone conversations. An hour later, Carville—a hyperactive Louisianan known as the Ragin' Cajun—had pulled on his Chuck Taylor high-tops and hopped on a plane to Boston to rendezvous with the governor and brace him for the inevitable press assault.

When it came, Carville was ready. For nine days and nights, he rarely left Clinton's side, plying the skills that have made him one of the most sought-after aides-de-camp in American politics. Flying on the press plane from New Hampshire to Mississippi to Texas, Carville collared every journalist he could get his hands on, heaping scorn on the *Star* and berating the mainstream press for dignifying the allegations. He called the adultery rumors the media's "crack cocaine" and insisted the *Star* had "sucker-punched" the press with its "cash-for-trash" report. "It was like a constant blast from a fire hose," says one reporter who endured the Carville treatment. "After a while, you just wanted to scream 'Enough!'" Now, after constant haranguing—and effective TV appearances by Clinton and his wife, Hillary—the issue seems to be abating. Last night, Carville got a warm reception from a group of New York fund-raisers, who even seemed willing to forgive Clinton for agreeing with Gennifer Flowers when she likened Governor Mario Cuomo to a mafioso on *Being on the receiving end of a Carville tirade is like being blasted by a fire hose.*

the tapes she made. Carville grabs a copy of *USA Today* off the table and points to the headline "POLLS SHOW SURGE BY CLINTON." "See that?" he cries. "I think the worst is over."

He pauses to take a bite of his poached egg. Perhaps in deference to the elegant Essex House, the 47-year-old Carville is clad in a brown turtleneck, faded jeans, loafers—a cut above his typical undergraduate garb. Though less wired than usual, he still manages to summon enough energy to castigate the press one more time. "Only here in America are we asked to respond to someone who alters tapes, gets caught in eight lies and gets paid between \$130,000 and \$170,000 for her story. When they told me there were tapes, I said 'Well, the networks

(continued on page 138)



(continued from page 136) will never play 'em until they verify 'em.' I sometimes surprise myself with my naiveté."

Carville's tactics in the affaire Clinton were typical: Sensing the mainstream media's discomfort at invading what Hillary Clinton called the "zone of privacy," Carville refocused the spotlight from Clinton's alleged philandering to the press's behavior and prodded many journalists into spasms of self-flagellation. It didn't matter whether he believed the line he was spouting—there's no evidence, for instance, that

sans see a key difference between the two men's styles. "I think of Arwater as the Wizard of Oz, diverting people from reality," says Mark McKinnon, a Texas Democratic consultant who has worked with Carville. "Carville's the Wizard of Is—focusing attention on what's really going on."

Others say the real reason for Carville's success is his ruthlessness. A master of the negative campaign, he maintains the spirit of a "mischievous child," says his friend Doug Woolfolk, "[with] an evil presence

is a street fight and jury trial without rule of evidence," says Rick Robb, Scranton campaign manager. "With Carville, there are no limits."

In the cautious, buttoned-down world of politics, Carville plays the id to his candidate's ego: A high-voltage obsessive, Carville is given to rants that mix homespun wisdom and Cajun-cooking metaphors with a generous dose of profanity. Though acclaimed for his ability to connect with middle-class families (he defines the typical voter as "a 32-year-old white male with two kids in day care and a job in a suburban office park"), the unmarried Carville bounces between the Bat Cave, whose decor features a Murphy bed and a tangle of laundry on the closet floor, and a nomadic life on the road. Perhaps most unorthodox: this ferociously partisan Democrat, waging a jihad against George Bush, has carried on a very public romance with Mary Matalin, a Lee Arwater protégée and a top official of the Republican Party—the same party Carville accuses of "spreading money around in an effort to dig up more sleaze on Bill Clinton."

Clinton first heard about Carville last year, when the Ragin' Cajun (he was given the nickname by a newspaper reporter in Virginia, and it stuck) helped scorch former Attorney General Thornburgh in the election for the U.S. Senate—the Pennsylvania campaign that transformed Carville from a little-known operative into the gonzo agent of the Democrats' deliverance.

Harris Wofford, the Democratic incumbent, who had been appointed to the seat in April 1991, after Senator John Heinz' death, started the race as a forty-four-point underdog, but Thornburgh proved to be exactly the kind of opponent that Carville loves to take apart. Plugging into America's recession-weary mood, Carville linked the imperious Thornburgh to "the mess in Washington"—most notably, the BOC scandal. As Thornburgh floundered, Carville guided Wofford's transformation from patrician intellectual to populist, attuned to the anxieties of the middle class.

Though an internationalist, Wofford adopted the quasi-isolationist slogan "It's time to take care of our own" and focused his campaign on health-care reform, one of his longtime pet issues. Pennsylvania delivered a stunning rebuke to its onetime favorite son, choosing Wofford, a Kennedy White House civil-rights liaison and former Bryn Mawr College president, by a 55-to-45 margin. Many pundits saw the Pennsylvania election—pitting a Democrat who'd positioned himself as an economic

**With Clinton, Carville has found himself in the unaccustomed position of defender. "You get to know somebody real quick when you're in the foxhole with him."**

Flowers or the Star altered the tapes—the important thing was that it worked. "Carville was masterful," says Republican campaign consultant Greg Stevens. But if the same charges had been leveled against a Republican opponent, says Stevens, "it would be ugly—Carville would be fanning these rumors furiously."

Since engineering the slaughter of George Bush's close friend Richard Thornburgh in Pennsylvania last November, Carville has become the most-talked-about political consultant since the late Lee Arwater, another Dixie country boy whose down-home charm masked the instincts of a swamp adder. Like Arwater, who transformed the 1988 presidential election into a referendum on Willie Horton, Carville has made his mark by latching onto a few themes that connect with the K Mart crowd, then pounding away at them throughout a campaign. But Carville parti-

about him." Carville keeps opponents off-balance, sniffing out scandals, embarrassing them with their own words and deeds. In one memorable case, he had Pete Dawkins—then a candidate for New Jersey's U.S. Senate seat—followed to the airport, tracked the corporate jet he was flying on to North Carolina and had Dawkins photographed when he arrived for a political fund-raiser sponsored by the Tobacco Institute. Carville subsequently nailed Dawkins for being in the hands of special interests.

Carville was equally merciless when he masterminded the victory of the Strassenesque Robert P. Casey (the Three-Time Loss From Holy Cross) over William Scranton in the 1986 Pennsylvania governor's race. He slammed Scranton as a do-nothing coasting on the achievements of his father, a former governor, and then ran ads harping on Scranton's days as a follower of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. "Politics

reformer against a figure identified with the Bush administration—as a harbinger of the presidential campaign.

In July, as Wofford was gaining momentum, Clinton met with Carville and his partner, Paul Begala, 30, a Texas speechwriter who had joined Carville in 1984. (The pair operates Carville & Begala out of the office in Washington, with one other employee.) Though the team was already being wooed by the staffs of senators Bob Kerrey and Tom Harkin, they decided after a ninety-minute conversation that the governor was "the best hoss on the track," says Begala.

Carville insists he never asked Clinton to come clean about his marital problems—although rumors about the candidate's philandering had been circulating for years. "Believe it or not, I do not feel comfortable discussing somebody's personal life, particularly his marriage, even though I work for him," he says.

The Iberville Parish countryside in southeastern Louisiana is flat, flat, flat: a monotonous sea of rice fields and cattle pastures lying brown and fallow during the winter. A few ramshackle clapboard

houses, po'boy restaurants, whitewashed Catholic churches and rural graveyards straddle the two-lane blacktop. The only natural rise in the landscape is the muddy Mississippi River levee. Behind it, ancient ferryboats chug up the mile-wide river toward Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupee Parish, the heart of Cajun country.

On an unseasonably warm winter afternoon before the Clinton mess erupted, Carville is driving his rented Chevy to his mother's house outside Carville, the little Mississippi River town—named after his grandfather—where he grew up. Carville has okra gumbo and an impending family reunion on his mind, but even here, he can't stay away from politics. Voice rising, he launches into an intense monologue about the Republican "economic royalists," accusing them of cynically using the Pledge of Allegiance and school prayer issues in 1988 to distract voters from their real agenda: tax breaks for the rich. Then he lashes out at the Democrats for wasting time responding to the attacks, instead of focusing on their strength: economic justice. "Dukakis fucked up because he didn't tell people what he was about. [The party] never said 'I'm on your side.' I think any

fucking fool could have turned that Pled of Allegiance shit around." He shakes his head violently, disgusted—disgusted—the incompetence of the Democrats 1988.

"They coulda said 'Look, Georgie, lemme tell you something, pardner. West Virginia, they had six kids who did say the Pledge, and they made them eat castor oil. They castrated a Jehovah's Witness in Nebraska!' " Carville's voice jumps an octave. " 'And you know, George, you can't stand up for six kids in West Virginia, how you gonna stand up for workin' people? Now take your goddam goofy Pledge of Allegiance issue and jam up your stupid WASP ass!' " "

When Carville gets going, he sounds like a combination revivalist, boot-camp commander and country-stumping politician. With his elongated head, wiry body and sticklike legs, he resembles an excitable bird. But his most unsettling feature is his eyes, which radiate intelligence and wicked humor. When he smiles, his eyes vanish into deep creases that run like pencil lines from their corners, making it look as if he's wearing a burglar's mask.

The rented car enters Carville, a pe-

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Vietnam War—finally graduating in 1970. At Louisiana State University law school, he spent most of his time going to football games and carousing with his roommates, including Woolfolk and Doug Moreau, a former Miami Dolphins tight end. Then, as now, organization wasn't his strong point. "Our apartment looked like shit," says Woolfolk. "Every couple of weeks, I'd get a plastic garbage bag and sweep everything into it."

Carville joined a Baton Rouge law firm in 1973, but he found the conformity and the attention to detail oppressive. "James looked out the window one day and realized, 'If I needed an attorney, I'd never hire myself,'" says his mother. "He said it was time to change careers."

In 1980, friends got him a job at Weill and Strother, a Baton Rouge consulting firm famous for its gloves-off tactics. Carville's showmanship and aptitude for mischief proved perfectly suited to political advising: In one New Orleans mayoral race, Carville sent thousands of voters astronomical, counterfeit monthly bills from the city's utility company. Attached was a warning that rates could soar out of control unless his candidate was elected; unfortunately, many citizens mistook the facsimile bill for the real thing and bombarded the company with panicked calls. "I think we caused a few heart attacks," says Carville with a cackle.

"James had a quick mind, and the best sense of humor I've ever been exposed to," says Gus Weill. "If you were looking for someone to cut through the verbiage and humbug and frame the point into a selling proposition, James was the best you could hire."

In 1982, at age 38, Carville finally left Louisiana to manage former Portsmouth, Virginia, Mayor Dick Davis's losing U.S. Senate campaign. But his watershed race, two years later, was the U.S. Senate campaign of Texas state Senator Lloyd Doggett against conservative Congressman Phil Gramm, a political genius with a gift for visceral messages. Carville calls the contest a "seminal experience" that taught him lessons about personalizing the message—even as his candidate suffered a landslide defeat. (The coup de grace came days before the election, with the Republicans' gleeful revelation that some of Doggett's gay supporters had held an all-male, nude fund-raiser for him, starring a stripper called Frankie the Banana Queen.) "They just pummeled us," Carville remembers. "Somebody asked me 'What do you do when something like that happens?' I said

'Just get in the fetal position and try to protect your vital organs.'"

The Doggett defeat threw him into a tailspin. Carville loves to tell reporters how he spent two years in the doghouse, broke and unemployed, waiting for the phone to ring. "I was walking down Massachusetts Avenue on a cold, rainy day in April, with \$47 and a garment bag. The strap on the garment bag broke, and I just sat down and cried." (The anecdote is one more example of Carville's flair for building his own image; he's his own best spin doctor, calculating every moment of self-revelation.)

The phone finally did ring, in 1986, when media man David Doak helped him land the job as Robert Casey's campaign manager. But his stature grew during New Jersey's 1988 U.S. Senate campaign, when he represented incumbent Frank Lautenberg against Pete Dawkins, the Rhodes scholar and Heisman trophy winner who had moved to New Jersey just before announcing his candidacy. Carville showed focus groups Dawkins's announcement speech—in which he praised his adopted state and its nice people—and discovered that the tough Jersey crowd "thought Dawkins was full of bullshit," he says. Carville ran a television ad excerpting the speech and tagged on the admonition "Come on, Pete. Be real." The credibility issue dogged Dawkins throughout the campaign, contributing to Lautenberg's reelection.

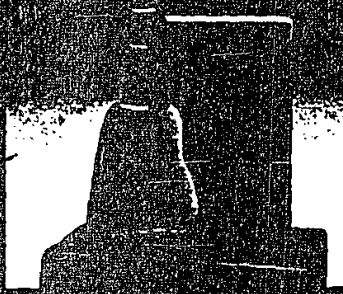
The Lautenberg race was classic Carville. He and his staff of twenty worked out of a basketball court-sized headquarters in New Brunswick, with a row of desks lining each side of the room. Arriving at seven o'clock every morning, Carville would hit the ground running, reviewing clips from local newspapers, poring over poll results, working through ideas with Begala, barking instructions at campaign workers and flopping onto his couch to brainstorm.

John Anzalone, the campaign's political director, says the atmosphere was utterly egalitarian. "One time, James grabbed me and asked 'Anzalone—you got good ties to labor?' I said 'Yeah.' 'Well,' he said, 'labor yo' ass around the corner and get me a small cup o' black.'" And Carville kept the place buzzing with his outrageous behavior: Once, he rounded up two male workers who had done some good opposition research and beckoned to a young blonde intern sitting nearby. "Suzy—come on over here, front and center," he said. "Blow jobs for these boys, right now!"

In New Jersey, as in all his campaigns, Carville went into overdrive as Election Day approached. "James becomes a three-

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headed, frothing beast," Mark McKinnon says, "grabbing people, shouting, 'What you doing? Where you going? What's happening?' It's totally frenetic."

Sometimes Carville's go-for-the-jugular style backfires, however. In 1989, former Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz hired him to direct his comeback bid against Mayor Kathy Whitmire, the popular incumbent. Rather than make the case for Hofheinz,

*"He's 47, but he's like an 18-year-old living in a fraternity house," says a colleague.*

Carville devised an almost-daily assault of anti-Whitmire press conferences and ads. "James said 'Get me a list of the ten biggest scandals of her administration,'" remembers one campaign aide. "But Whitmire was a Teflon mayor, and nothing had ever stuck with her."

In one case, Carville approved an ad that played upon the unproved assertion that \$20 million in federal community-development money had disappeared on Whitmire's watch. The spot caricatured Whitmire with a look-alike in a polka-dot dress, yelling at staffers and tearing her office apart, looking for the missing cash. Many Houstonians were put off by the assault. "I had people saying 'I wanted to vote for Hofheinz, but I couldn't stand the campaign, it was so bitterly negative,'" the aide says. Hofheinz sank in the polls, and on Election Day, "Carville walked the halls saying 'I hope we don't lose by too much.' We got clobbered."

But the Whitmire experience paled beside the disaster that forced Carville to leave Kentucky in disgrace in 1990. Back in 1987, Carville had helped Wallace Wilkinson, a millionaire businessman, in his successful campaign for governor—largely on the strength of his campaign message, which called for establishing a state lottery. Two years later, Wilkinson rehired Carville to press the legislature for an amendment that would allow him to run for a second term. With his usual gusto, Carville began a blitz of ads attacking the legislature's competence, hoping that would provoke Kentuckians to oust Wilkinson foes.

The ad campaign faltered, and Carville gave an interview to *The Courier-Journal* that sealed his fate. Believing he was speaking off the record, Carville called the legislators opposed to Wilkinson a bunch of "dumb motherfuckers"—and the paper printed it. The next day, Representative Bobby Richardson told the packed chamber that "[Carville] must have overdosed on Tabasco sauce," which "had caused an

intestinal obstruction resulting in... excrement coming out of his mouth." The governor was in Carville's evil thrall, said Richardson, who dubbed the consultant "Rasputin reincarnated." Conceding defeat, Carville left Kentucky days later.

Though Carville professes that the Kentucky fiasco "wasn't fun," it reinforced his image as a go-for-broke hired gun. Indeed, although Carville makes a reported

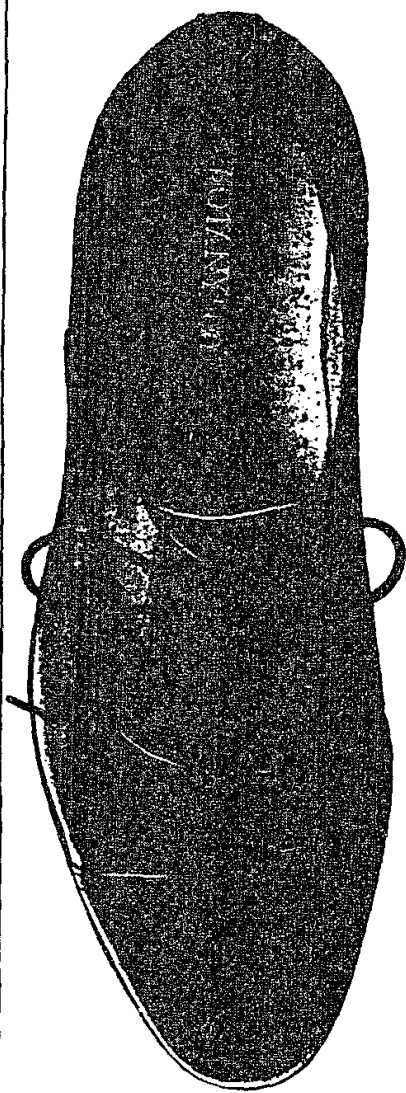
\$250,000 a year, he continues to live the stripped-down existence that only serves to heighten his mystique. "He's 47, but he's like an 18-year-old living in a fraternity house," says McKinnon. A couple of years ago, Carville remembers, his place on Capitol Hill was broken into; the burglars drank some whiskey, urinated on the floor and left, unable to find anything worth taking.

Though he has an impressive reputation as a ladies' man, Carville's life-style has kept him far from the altar. But in January 1991, he began a serious relationship with the 38-year-old Matalin, who at the time was chief of staff of the Republican National Committee and who, last December, was appointed to Bush's reelection committee.

Soon after Matalin's appointment, *The Washington Post* reported that she and Carville were no longer an item; sources close to the Bush campaign say high-ranking Republicans, including former Republican National Committee Chairman Clayton Yeutter and Bush campaign manager Robert Teeter, told Matalin to keep her distance, fearing breaches of security. An insider says, "They could just imagine Republican state chairmen asking every two weeks 'What's she doing with this guy who wants to destroy George Bush?'" Those close to the campaign suggest that the pair may reunite once the race is over and Matalin's personal life becomes her personal business again. (Some say they continue to see each other on the sly, but neither will comment.)

Carville's friends also wonder what the Ragin' Cajun will decide to do if his client ascends to the White House. There's a chance he'd play an unofficial advisory role, similar to the one Roger Ailes has had in the Bush administration. Or, his friend Woolfolk suggests, Carville might accept a teaching job at his alma mater LSU and settle down for a while. Carville insists he's committed to advising New Jersey Gover-

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nor Jim Florio's reelection campaign in 1993, whatever happens. Besides, he doubts any Cabinet-level post would be in the offing. "I can just hear my answers at the confirmation hearing," he jokes. "But, Senator... I didn't know she was 17!"

The pink lobby of the Gateway Hilton in Newark, New Jersey, is swarming with political operatives and hangers-on one wintry Saturday morning. Carville's taken a day away from Clinton's campaign to speak at the regional meeting of the Democratic National Committee's Eastern Caucus. "Half the things you have to do in politics," he says, "would get you arrested in a Florida movie theater."

While the other speakers, including New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley and Clinton campaign manager David Wilhelm, are wearing suits, Carville is dressed for touch football in jeans and a black warm-up jacket over a red sweatshirt. Drumming the podium with his fingers, fidgeting with his black-framed glasses, Carville hammers away at his main political themes. Anti-G.O.P. populism: "The Republicans are saying the Democrats want to take people's guns away. While [the people] were in their closets, checking their Uzis, the Republicans were lifting their pension funds outta their back pockets." A shot at the G.O.P.'s regressive wing: "Pat Buchanan wants to make English the national language—what's Strom Thurmond gonna do?" And unabashed boosterism: "This time it's gonna be different—I sense it." He brings the Democrats to their feet, having almost convinced them their time has come.

It's an inspiring scene, yet Carville knows electing Clinton depends on more than catchy sound bites and assaults on a weakened incumbent. Carville acknowledges that the party has to struggle to regain those K Mart voters—the middle-class Democrats turned Reagan-Bush supporters—who abandoned the party during the past decade.

He also knows that the campaign will get uglier, with the press and the Republicans sure to keep digging for more smoking bimbos. "Of course this will happen again," he says back at the Essex House. Will Clinton bleed to death from a thousand pin pricks? Carville insists he subscribes to the "inoculation" theory, which holds that the candidate has protected himself against further accusations by admitting, albeit indirectly, to indiscretions. "The Clintons have never portrayed them-

selves as not having a rough moment in their marriage. The press is out trying to confirm something they already said," Carville says, his voice tinged with defensiveness. "The question is, should alleged private acts of infidelity be held against a candidate if they've been reconciled, forgiven, put behind, and the marriage continues? don't think so." But with subsequent revelations about Clinton's avoidance of the draft in 1969, the question is whether Clinton has irreparably damaged his credibility. His glib attempts to defuse both issues have only reinforced his "Slick Willy" image.

In the New Hampshire primary, on February 18, voters sent Clinton a mixed message. After falling as many as eleven points behind former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas in the polls, the erstwhile front runner finished second, with a respectable 25 percent of the vote, far from the debacle that some Clinton supporters had feared. Most New Hampshire Democrats still as they have doubts about Clinton's trustworthiness, but his charisma and his centrist post-liberal programs may be enough to overcome the character issue. Clinton remains the best-funded Democratic candidate with a strong organization in the South. That, of course, is also the Ragin Cajun's territory, and his feel for the concerns of southern voters could help keep the campaign focused on economic issues—not the potentially deadly draft dodging question.

Carville admits that his week in tabloid hell had one positive effect: It moved him into Clinton's inner circle, alongside Hillary and David Wilhelm, 35, a top organizer who ran Richard M. Daley's successful 1989 and '91 mayoral races in Chicago. "You really get to know somebody real quick when you're in the foxhole with him," Carville says. Despite the consultant's manic efforts, however, they're not out of the foxhole yet.

Carville thumbs through the morning's *New York Times* and reads a description of Clinton as "the wounded frontrunner." His face sags, his eyes narrow. "Wounded?" he says contemptuously. "Look where we are—they're still trying to bludgeon us." Carville had better brace himself. The rumors are simmering. The guns are loaded. And the next time, even the master spin doctor may not be able to keep Bill Clinton on his feet.

Newsweek general editor Joshua Hammer wrote about defense attorney David Lewis in the October 1991 GQ.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AS  
SENATE CHALLENGERS:  
HISTORY AND ANALYSIS

## HISTORY

1. **Since 1982, there have been 25 members of Congress who challenged incumbent senators. Only 5 won.**

- All the 5 winners were Democrats and were in either 1984 or 1986.
- Of the 20 losers, 13 were Republican, 7 were Democrat.

**The Winners (5)**

Paul Simon, (D) IL, 1984  
 Tom Harkin, (D) IA, 1984  
 Richard Shelby, (D) AL, 1986  
 Wyche Fowler, (D) GA, 1986  
 Tom Daschle, (D) SD, 1986

**The Losers (20)**

Floyd Fithian, (D) IN, 1982  
 Toby Moffett, (D) CT, 1982  
 Dave Emery, (R) ME, 1982  
 Jim Collins, (R) TX, 1982  
 Cleve Benedict, (R) WV, 1982  
 Robin Beard, (R) TN, 1982  
 Mike Lowry, (D) WA, 1983  
 Ed Bethune, (R) AK, 1984  
 Norm D'Amours, (D) NH, 1984  
 Ed Zschau, (R) CA, 1986  
 Tom Kindness, (R) OH, 1986  
 Jim Jones, (D) PA, 1986  
 Bob Edgar, (D) PA, 1986  
 Bean Boulter, (R) TX, 1988  
 Pat Saiki, (R) HI, 1990  
 Lynn Martin, (R) IL, 1990  
 Tom Tauke, (R) IA, 1990  
 Bill Schuette, (R) MI, 1990  
 Claudine Schneider, (R) RI, 1990  
 Les AuCoin, (D) OR, 1992

2. **Since 1986, not one Congressional challenger has won.**

- There were 7 challengers during that period (6 Republican, 1 Democrat).

3. **Four (4) of the 5 winning Congressmen had very close races.**

<u>Winning congressmen</u>	<u>%</u>
Paul Simon	50%
Tom Harkin	55%
Richard Shelby	50%
Wyche Fowler	51%
Tom Daschle	52%

- Harkin won big principally because of ethics controversies surrounding the incumbent senator.

4. Not surprising, winning Congressional challengers spent closer to the incumbent senator than the losing Congressional challengers did.

### Challenger \$ Spent as % of Incumbent \$ Spent

	<u>Winning House Challengers</u>	<u>Losing House Challengers</u>
Average	74%	67%
Median	83%	61%

### WHY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAVE FAILED

1. Congressmen are not outsiders. Particularly in today's anti-Washington mood, outsiders are most often successful challengers.

- Congressmen have difficulty portraying themselves as outsiders.

2. Many losing congressional challengers allowed the incumbent senator to throw them on the defensive.

- Congressmen have records, and Senate incumbents, often rattled because they have a credible challenger, attacked them steadily -- and often early.
- Oftentimes what happened is that while the challenger was introducing themselves to the rest of the state, the incumbent senator was defining them on an issue basis.
- Some notable examples:

<u>Challenger</u>	<u>Attack Theme</u>
Rep. Ed Zschau	Flip-flopping
Rep. Bill Schuette	Weak on crime
Rep. Les AuCoin	Missing votes to make speeches for money
Rep. Norm D'Amours	Liberal; absenteeism

3. Republican congressmen, because they're in the minority in the House, often have difficulty in pointing to dramatic accomplishments.

- The result is that the incumbent Senator can often look like the more effective of the two candidates.

4. Many congressmen have had no serious races in their recent elections and thus have forgotten what it's like to run competitive campaigns.

- They are thus completely unprepared for the much larger and almost always more aggressive race against a sitting senator.
- In addition, some congressmen do not adjust well when going from being the incumbent in a race to being the challenger.

5. Congressmen are often unprepared for the greater degree of press scrutiny in a statewide race.

- Many Congressmen have reasonably good and comfortable relationships with their local media.
- But when they run statewide they are often taken aback by the greater scrutiny of the statewide press corps.

6. Congressmen often insist on running their statewide election the same way they ran their last House race.

- Congressmen sometimes figure they can simply run a "mega-congressional district" race that happens to be statewide.
- Statewide races require greater reliance on media--paid and earned--than most House races. Losing Congressmen often don't adjust to that.
  - The absolute importance of a clear and compelling message is often lost on some congressional challengers.
- Several losing House challengers were very bad at cash resource management--i.e. spending too much money early in the campaign--seeking statewide acceptance and credibility akin to what they had in their House district.

# PENNSYLVANIA GENERAL ELECTION BUDGET

## 1. Payroll

Campaign Manager	6 mos. @ \$5,000	\$30,000
Press Secretary	6 mos. @ 4,000	24,000
Finance Director	6 mos. @ 4,000	24,000
Accounting (unless donated)	6 mos. @ 2,666	16,000
Organization Director	6 mos. @ 2,500	15,000
Scheduler	6 mos. @ 2,500	15,000
Office Manager	6 mos. @ 1,500	9,000
Clerical Support (2)	6 mos. @ 2,500	15,000
Travel Aide	6 mos. @ 1,250	7,500
Payroll Tax Expense	15% of \$155,500	23,325

**TOTAL PAYROLL** **\$178,825**

## 2. Headquarters Expense

Bank Charges	\$ 1,000
Temporary Labor	5,000
Rent/Building	16,000
Rent/Equipment	18,000
Rent/Furniture	2,500
Postage	8,000
Printing	8,000
Office Supplies	8,000
Telephone	15,000
Travel	19,000
Brochures/Pushcards	20,000
Miscellaneous	5,000
Shipping/Fed Ex.	2,000

**TOTAL HEADQUARTERS EXPENSE** **\$127,500**

## 4. Polling and Other Research

Benchmark	\$25,000
Ridge add-ons	\$ 5,000
40 question monitor	\$12,000
Tracking	\$40,000

**TOTAL POLLING AND OTHER RESEARCH** **\$82,000**

5. **Media**

General Television	\$3,079,000
General Radio	\$ 226,200
Production	\$ 125,000
<b>TOTAL MEDIA</b>	<b><u>\$3,430,200</u></b>

6. **Direct Voter Contact**

General mail (1)	920,034 x .30	\$ 276,010
General mail (2)	920,034 x .27	\$ 248,409
General phones	644,024 x .50	\$ 322,012
<b>TOTAL DIRECT VOTER CONTACT</b>		<b><u>\$846,431</u></b>

NOTE: Phone is for candidate-specific messages at the end of the campaign.  
Assumptions are based upon 40% of Bush 1988 voters.  
Mail would include: General Election Advocacy, General Election Tabloid, and General Election GOTV.

SPECIAL NOTE: It is important to note that phone and mail programs can be coordinated with your State Republican Party organization for possible cooperative efforts.

7. **Fundraising Costs**

<b>TOTAL FUNDRAISING COSTS</b>	<b><u>\$785,000</u></b>
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<b>GRAND TOTAL, ALL EXPENSES</b>	<b><u>\$5,594,186</u></b>
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Specter	\$10,454,793	Wofford	\$3,241,556	AVG:	\$6,848,174
Yeakel	\$5,028,669	Thornburgh	\$3,993,070	AVG:	\$4,510,870

## TELEVISION FROM LABOR DAY TO END OF GENERAL ELECTION

Markets include: Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Harrisburg (York, Lancaster, Lebanon), Wilkes Barre (Scranton), Johnstown (Altoona), Erie

### GENERAL

September	Week One	800 GRP's x \$279	\$223,200
	Week Two	800 GRP's x \$279	\$223,200
	Week Three	800 GRP's x \$279	\$223,200
	Week Four	800 GRP's x \$279	\$223,200
October	Week Five	900 GRP's x \$341	\$306,900
	Week Six	1,100 GRP's x \$341	\$375,100
	Week Seven	1,200 GRP's x \$341	\$409,200
	Week Eight	1,500 GRP's x \$341	\$511,500
	Week Nine	1,500 GRP's x \$341	\$511,500

October	Weeks Eight and Nine - Increase Phila. buy by 200 pts		
	Week Eight	500 GRPs (Phila) x \$183	\$36,000
	Week Nine	500 GRPs (Phila) x \$183	\$36,000

### TOTAL GENERAL

**\$3,079,000**

**NOTE:** TV and radio include the full 15% placement commission to fund media consultant payment.

### ASSUMPTIONS:

All ads are **thirty seconds**

An **equal mix (14.3%)** in the following dayparts

Early morning  
Day  
Early fringe  
Early news  
Prime access  
Prime  
Late news

Gross rating points (**GRP's**) are based on Households (**HH**)  
Statewide advertising (**equal across all markets**)

**IMPORTANT!** *These are only rough estimates. Actual cost will be determined by market conditions at the time of placement of media time.*

# PENNSYLVANIA 1992 US Senate Race

Specter Strength by ADI

